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OF THE

CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME III.—NEW SERIES.

EDITOR

W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.,

Local Secretary for Cumberland to the Society of Antiquaries of London.

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CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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RULES OF THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

As revised at the Annual Meeting held at Durham, June 20th, 1901.

I.—The Society shall be called the "Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society."

II.—The Society is formed for the purpose of investigating, describing, and preserving the antiquities of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire North of the Sands.

III.—The Society consists of the original members, and all those who may have been or shall be elected either at a General or Council Meeting upon the nomination of two members.

IV.—The Annual Subscription is 10/6, due and payable on the 1st of July in each year; and no member shall be entitled to the privileges of the Society whilst his or her Subscription is in arrear. A composition of Ten Guineas constitutes Life Membership. *N.B.*—Ladies elected prior to August 30th, 1881, pay only 5 - per annum.

V.—The Lord Bishop of the Diocese, the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Cumberland, and the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Westmorland, if members of the Society, shall be Patrons thereof.

VI.—The other officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, an Editor, two Auditors, and a Secretary or Secretaries and Treasurer, all being honorary officers, who shall all be elected at a General Meeting of the members of the Society to be held each year.

VII.—The management of the Society shall be in a Council consisting of the officers above named, excepting the Auditors, and twelve other members, who shall be annually elected at the same time as the other officers. The Council may, if it think fit, elect one of its members as "Chairman of the Council."

VIII.—On the recommendation of the Council, the Annual Meeting may elect as honorary members, gentlemen non-resident eminent for antiquarian knowledge, or gentlemen resident who shall have rendered valuable services to the Society, such gentlemen to have all the privileges of membership without the payment of Subscriptions.

IX.—The Society shall hold two or more Meetings in each year at some place of interest, at which papers shall be read, to be printed, if approved by the Editor and Publication Committee, in the Society's *Transactions*.

X.—The Council have power to appoint local secretaries, and to authorise the formation of Committees for local purposes in connection with the central body.

XI.—The Council shall meet about the month of April to settle the place or places at which the General and other Meetings shall be held in the season next ensuing.

XII.—The Council may appoint two members of their body, who shall, with the Editor, form the Publication Committee.

XIII.—Members may introduce a friend to the ordinary meetings of the Society.

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY, 1902,

FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1.—Sellafield, Beckermet, Calder Abbey, Seascale.		June 11, 1902.
Gosforth Hall and Church, Irton Hall	...	June 12, 1902.

2.—Penrith Castle and Church, Brougham Castle, Ninekirks, Hornby Hall, Clifton ...	...	Aug. 28, 1902.
Threlkeld Settlement; Lord's Island, Derwentwater; Keswick Museum	... ...	Aug. 29, 1902.

ART. I.—*Bishop Nicolson's Diaries:* PART III. By the BISHOP OF BARROW-IN-FURNESS, President.

Communicated at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

AT the beginning of the nineteenth volume of "Bishop Nicolson's Diaries," which comes next to those dealt with in two former papers, we find him at home at Rose Castle. The diary gives an interesting picture of his active and hospitable life there. But by reason of its length much must be here omitted, such as lists of guests (for the Bishop seldom dined alone), names of preachers with their texts, lists of candidates for ordination, state of the weather, and many other entries of comparatively small importance.

1705.

Mar. 26. Munday. In ye evening, poor Mr Holme* of Dacre, full of complaints. His curacy will not amount to above 10^lb^, nothing being to be made of Thrimby-Tith: But he has a clear (Freehold) estate from his Father, worth 9^lb^ p. añ. NB. Mr Harrison† of Barton accus'd for Clandestine Marriages; two couple frō Dacre-parish in one Night. At Dinner, Mr Huddleston (wth thanks for mitigateing his costs in ye House of Lords) Mr Walker, Mr Ogle (goeing to Travel in Quest of preferm^t^) Mr Culcheith, Mr Rickarby, and (in Ld Carlile's name, to sollicite my Interest for Mr Musgrave & Mr Fletcher) young Mr Maxwell.

,, 27. Tuesday. Din'd with me Mr Calvert, penitent but not restor'd to his Petty-Canonry‡ and in danger of his loseing his Tith-piggs, as also Greyson, Butcher & common-counsell^r^, a hearty friend to Mr C. M. The rescu'd men from ye prosecution in ye Crown-office are (he saies) most ungrateful.

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* John Holmes, curate of Dacre, was ordained priest on that title, June 3rd, 1705.

† John Harrison, B.A., vicar of Barton, 1662. He must have died shortly after this time, for on his death his successor was instituted July 17th, 1705.

‡ For the case of the combatant minor canons, see the diary of November 30th, 1704, with note.—These *Transactions*, N.S. ii., 216.

Mar.28. Wednesday. In the afternoon, Mr Fleming (haveing first resign'd his Vicarage of Stanwix) was instituted into the Archdeaconry; and Mr Benson into the Vicarage of Stanwix, with good Omen, on his Birth-Day.

,, 31. Saturday. Mr Benson went to take Induction at Stanwix; and B^r^ John to examine ye Lists of M^r^ M's Freemen at Carlile. None disturb'd us, all day, at Rose. In ye evening came ye two Boyes from Appleby; and (wth them) Mr Tonson, design'd Curate at Stanwix.

Apr. 4. Wednesday. Fast-day,* at Carlile. I read morning & evening prayer; and Mr Read preach'd (a good & proper sermon) on Deut. 28. 63. R. Agl. and Geo. Brathw^t^† not sincere in Mr C. M's Interests: The former for perswadeing him to desist.

,, 5. Thursday. I sent John Twentyman and I. Sleddale to meet my sister Rothery‡ at York, and to bring her to Rose. A Passion Sermon wholly compos'd, de novo.

,, 6. Good-Friday. I preach'd at Carlile, to a very full congregation, and din'd (wth Mr Whittingdale) at Sister Spooner's. In ye evening, Mr Kinglove gave me a long

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* Fast-days proclaimed by public authority were usually on one of the "Vigils, Fasts, and days of Abstinence" enjoined in the Prayer-book. Thus the diary mentions December 24th, 1707 (Christmas Eve); June 10th, 1702 (Eve of St. Barnabas); and several times the Wednesday in Holy Week, as here. But this was not always the case, *e.g.*, January 14th, 170$\frac{8}{9}$; January 16th, 17$\frac{1}{19}$.

† The Rev. George Braithwaite is a remarkable case of a person belonging to the same Cathedral body for no less than 83 years. His name appears as a chorister on the first roll-call of the Cathedral after the Restoration, November 23rd, 1668. He remains a chorister till he appears as lay clerk and sub-deacon June 23rd, 1675; he becomes minor canon November 25th, 1679. This does not necessarily imply that he was by that time in holy orders. He is nominated curate (*i.e.*, perpetual curate) of St. Mary's April 8th, 1685. (See the diary.) He continued a minor canon till his death in 1751. But in 1750 it appears by the records of the Chapter that Mr. George Braithwaite, Minor Canon and Curate of the Parish of St. Marie's, by reason of his great age and loss of sight, was incapable of doing any part of his duty, and H. Richardson was appointed to do his duty as Curate of St. Marie's—to have £12 a year out of Mr. Braithwaite's salary.

‡ "My sister Rothery" must have been a sister of the Bishop, whom I have not been able to identify certainly. Possibly she was Frances, who was unmarried in 1685. [See the pedigree, in which "1655" is a misprint for "1685."] Her son "Joseph Rothery, as tall as I am," dined at Joseph Nicolson's house in Salisbury Court, December 10th, 1704. Mrs. Rothery was living in Dorsetshire, and had charge of Mr. Thynne's three children. His only son died in December, 1705. (See the diary.) This Mr. Thynne was Henry, only son of Sir Thomas Thynne of Longleat (created Viscount Weymouth), and died in 1708 before his father, leaving only two daughters. Joseph Rothery, the Bishop's nephew, is frequently mentioned in the diary He was at Oxford, was ordained priest March 13th, 171$\frac{4}{5}$, and was collated by his uncle next day to the living at Bromfield, which he only held till 1717.

Acc^{t} of y^{e} Heats wherein y^{e} Council at Edinburgh were (on Tuesday last) on Rec^{t} of the D. of Argyle's Letter, in peremptory Terms requireing the Reprieve of Capt Green and his Crew; who (as Mr K. farther saies) are undoubtedly guilty of ye murder of Capt Drummond, deep in ye massacre at Glencow.

Apr. 9. Munday. At Dinner, Mr Gregory* and Mr Lindsey of Melmerby: The former in danger of loseing Dean by G. Lowther's better Interest in Ld Wharton, & concern'd at Encroachm^{ts} on his Glebe at Ulndale; the Latter uneasy in the want of his Dues, but will not sue. Qu. If no private contract, betwixt Mr Patteson and him, for Harry's Tenement? — In the evening (walking under ye wood, in ye way to the Bogg) I found the Fungus Calyciformis longius radicatus Semine Carens; which I take to be an Undescribed Species.

„ 10. Tuesday. My wife gone to Carlile (and Mr Benson to Stanwix) a great number of Guests came to dinner. viz. Mr Chanc^{r}, Mr Archdeacon, Mr Browham, Mr Wiltshire (who read prayers) Capt Knox, Mr Ward, Mr Banks and's wife, Mr Lewthwait and Mr How. The last had 10^{lb} for himself & Ja. Nicolson (of M^{r} M's money) to treat ye Freemen occasionally. Mr Chanc^{r} satisfy'd, by Dr Gibson's L^{r}, of my hearty Application to ye AB. of C. In ye evening, my wife brought home Sis. Spooner; and ye Coachman a shuffling Ans^{r} from Mr Tong, in relation to his controversy wth Mr Wybergh. Capt K. saies D. Hamilton is makeing himself very popular at Preston.

„ 11. Wednesday. Institution given into ye Vicarage of Burgh under Stanem^{r} (immediately after his produceing his p^{r}sentation) to M^{r} Fr. Thompson; whose missing of ye Provostship of Queen's College, and ye Rectory of Charlton, is not like to be any loss to this Diocese. — In ye evening, came my sister Rothery (less weary, and in better health than I expected) from Dorsetshire.

„ 12. Thursday. A visit (en passant) from Dr Pearson and R. Wilson of Penrith. The D^{r} mightily taken with Baglivie's Treatise de Fibra Motrice &c. and his condemning ye squandering of our spittle; wch he rightly makes our chief menstruum in Digestion. Dr P. also approves Dr Musgrave's Notions; but thinks his Latine very harsh.

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* Mr. Gregory did not succeed in obtaining the living of Dean, to which John Dalton was presented in 1705. W. Lindsey, M.A., was presented to the rectory of Melmerby (1701) by Thomas Patteson, gentleman.

Apr. 13. Friday. Onely Mr Airay of Kirkland,* at Dinner; complaining of incorrigible Mr Darby's† haveing lately (tho' not in orders) marry'd two servts of Mr Nevinson's and some others, clandestinely & in Ale-Houses. NB. To give Mr Chancr Instructions abt him.

„ 14. Saturday. At Dinner, Dr Todd; not yet for restoreing ye petty-Canons. He saies Sr W. Dawes was fellow of St John's in Oxon u ein guter drank Br. In ye evening, Mr Christian came to hold ye Courts at Dalston and Linstock; and seems to favour Mr R. Musgrave in his Adherence to Mr Fletcher.

„ 16. Munday. At Dinner, Mr Tho. Salkeld, Mr Fr. Howard,‡ Mr H. Salkeld, Mr Burrows of Brougham§ and his nephew of Hutton, Mr W. Dalston and Mr Wybergh.
Mr Howard brought me ye case of his Father's Fishing, forcibly enter'd on. Mr H. Salkeld earnest for renewing his Lease of Allhallows, onely 4 years gone. Mr B. Senr showes a counterfeit agreemt (prtended to be as old as Ed. 1 in ye Language of Qu. Elizabeth) touching ye Chappel at Brougham, produced by Mr Bird.‖ Qu. Mr W. sick of his Suit wth Mr Tong, abt old Arrears at Beaucastle.

„ 17. Tuesday. In ye morning, Mr Christian (wth my brother) went to Linstock-Court and Sister Rothery to pay her Duty at Lowther. At Dinner, all ye contesting Gentlemen for ye approaching Election. viz. Mr Sheriff Briscoe, Sr W. Pennington, Mr R. Musgrave, Coll. Geo. Fletcher,¶ Mr G. Lawson, Mr Pennington of Seaton and (whilst we were at Table) Mr Recr Aglionby. It. belowstairs, Mr Farish** (of

* William Airay was curate of Kirkland, the rector (George Fleming) being non-resident.

† Mr. Darby was of Culgaith, a chapelry in the parish of Kirkland. (See May 26th.) "I was glad to find ye Diligence of Mr. Derby the present Reader and Schoolmaster, commended; having had many complaints against him."—Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 63, August 19th, 1703. Many chapelries were then served by lay readers, holding the Bishop's license, or by deacons; they are not included in his MS. list of incumbents instituted or licensed. For examples, see Threlkeld (in Greystoke Parish), April 25th; Watermillock (in Greystoke), May 7th; Armathwaite (in Hesket) and Wreay (in St. Mary's, Carlisle), May 12th; Thrimby (in Morland), July 14th, &c. Compare the Rev. J. Whiteside's account of Swindale and Mardale chapelries in the C. & W. *Transactions*, N.S., vols. i. and ii.

‡ Eldest son of William Howard of Corby.

§ Roland Borrow, M.A., rector of Brougham, 1680; died 1708. Joshua Burrow, A.B., rector of Hutton, 1695.

‖ Mr. Bird was then owner of Brougham Hall and lord of the manor.—See Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 67.

¶ Half-brother of Sir Henry Fletcher of Hutton.

** Peter Farish, M.A., vicar of Isell, 1703; he resigned that living in 1711. Bishop Nicolson's MS. list of incumbents adds "An Award about ye Tithes there Aug 16. 1706."

Isel) troubled ab^{t} an Annuity, secur'd on ye Tiths of Redmane, with Mr Holme ye Schoolm^{r} of Isel, wth a certificate of Sr W. Lawson's haveing regularly paid his Taxes. Sr W. P. desires me to countenance his second son for ye Election. Non pas. Mr Rec^{r} ag^{t} Coll. Stanwix; and ye Rioters at Corby, who oppos'd ye destroying of ye Nusance. L^{rs} & L^{d} T's money frō Appleby.

Apr. 18. Wednesday. I went in the morning to Carlile in ye Coach with Mr Benson, A. Chambers, Sister Spooner, and her Daughter; passing in great hazard over Caldew-Bridge, in Danger of falling.

After prayers, to ye Sessions—where Sr W. P. offer'd his second son in conjunction wth Mr Lawson, and Coll. Fletcher & Mr R. Musgrave y^{ir} Services in conjunction. All ye Justices were generously treated by Mr Sheriff Briscoe; and nothing in ye Afternoon but petitions frō ye Poor &c.

,, 19. Thursday. Sharp Repartees in ye morning 'twixt Mr Rec^{r} Aglionby and Mr Gilpin, on ye subject of ye decay'd Bridge at Lennard-Cost; wherein ye men of Brampton divided. Mr. L. Simpson (Clerk of ye peace) Indicts Mr Howard of Corby and his two Sons for Recusancy, Riots, &c. the latter on ye Acc^{t} of a pretended Nusance in his erecting a new Fish-Garth, presented at ye last Sessions, removed now by Certiorari. In this cause ye Lawyers were likewise divided. Most of ye Gentlemen & Clergy dined wth Coll. Fletcher at ye Half moon; where (Sr W. P. and Mr. L. comeing thither after Dinner) proposeals made for ye peace of ye County. These failing, & war proclaim'd, Sr W. P. and I declar'd for Mr Lawson.

In ye Evening, ye care of Caldew-Bridge and Priest-Bridge referr'd to Mr Gilpin & me to contract for; and 80^{lb} to Sr W. P. and Mr Lampl. for Cleater-Bridge.

,, 20. Friday. Returning home, I view'd Caldew Bridge; which seems to want our immediate care. After Dinner, a Visit to Mr Chanc^{r} and Mr Christian, holding a Court at Bell-Bridge; and ye latter return'd with me to Rose. NB. Kirnels of Iron-metal in ye Freestone 'twixt Seburgham-Bridge and Bell-Bridge.

,, 23. Munday. St George's Day; and ye Day (Good luck to England and Her Queen!) for Issueing out Writs for a new parliam^{t}. My two Sons (after a weeks extraordinary stay at home) return'd to Appleby, with a sharp Letter to M^{r}

Banks* on ye slow progress of both. In the Afternoon, Mr Benson & A. Chambers went to visit Mr Wybergh at Caldbeck; and Mr Robinson, of Ousby,† call'd at Rose, gave me an Acc^t^ of his friends^p^ wth Dr Woodward and his Adherence to Mr Lawson.

Apr. 24. Tuesday. At Dinner, Mr Kinglove and Mr Clark C. of Crosthwait. By ye former I sent ye Border-Laws to S^r^ Ja. Dalrymple, and ye latter will give Notice when the Mines of Black-Lead are open.
Afternoon, Mr Brathwait, with a discourageing Acc^t^ of M^r^ M's Interests amongst the Freemen at Carlisle. Let ye matter take its hazard!

„ 25. Wednesday. Mr Alex^r^ Naughley‡ nominated to succeed his father at Threlkeld, wants Orders; upon wch I examin'd him, and certify'd my Lady L. (by a Letter to Mr Holme) y^t^ ye man s^d^ be Deacon next Trinity-Sunday. I and my whole Family din'd at Holme Hill, on occasion of y^ir^ christening. Sister Rothery in ye evening returned frō Lowther.

„ 27. Friday. After Breakfast, to Scaleby; where the Bridges in decay, with Ch. Sanderson, consider'd. Mr Rec^r^ Aglionby's assumeing methods to be rectify'd—the new made Freemen to be excepted ag^t^ &c. In return, treated (wth B^r^ & Sisters, Mr Whittingdale, Cous. Chambers, Mr Tonson, &c) by Mr Benson at Stanwix. Mr Brathw^t^ gave me ye List of Freemen; and encouragem^t^ for Mr M. In the way home I call'd on ye Scots Carrier at Cargohe.

„ 29. Sunday. After Dinner, Notice given (by Letter) to Mr Brathw^t^ &c not to treat; since ye Order by proclamation, for the sitting of ye next Parliam^t^, is already out; tho' the Teste will not be before Wednesday next.

---

* Jonathan Banks became schoolmaster at Appleby, 1686; died 1721.

† Thomas Robinson, A.B., rector of Ousby, 1672. He is very often mentioned in the diary, frequently in connection with natural history, or with mining. He appears to have been concerned in the management of a colliery at Bolton, Cumberland, belonging to the Duke of Somerset. In 1696 he had published some *Observations on Natural History*, dedicated to Nicolson (then Archdeacon), of which a copy is in the Chapter Library. In the preface he says that for 20 years he had "been concerned in the Inspection of underground Works of several kinds." According to the diary, April 28th, 1707, he was engaged by Dr. Todd to write an account of the natural history of the diocese, for the History which Todd then purposed to publish; and in 1708 he printed *An Essay towards a Natural History of Cumberland and Westmorland*. From the later mentions of him in the diary (as November 13th, 1708), it seems that his ventures in mining and in literature were not prosperous; he fell into serious pecuniary difficulties, so that he had to seek shelter for a time in London. He died in 1719.

‡ "Admonish'd to avoid Brawls and Tipling," September 26th, 1713.

Apr. 30. Munday. At Dinner, Mr Chanc^r^ (who had his Instructions at large for his approaching Visitation) Mr Archdeacon Fleming and Mr Key. The last tells me y^t^ John Carlile (W. Churdon's murderer) was one of those who met ye D. of Hamilton on Friday last, on the Borders, in his way from Lancashire to the Scotch parliament.

May 1. Tuesday. My brother, haveing bruis'd his Leg with a fall of his horse ye night before, stir'd not from his own House, nor was any Application made to me this day, save by four or five of the Chapelrie of Armathw^t^ who want 6^lb^ 10^s^ of y^ir^ Stock; in Mr Hodgson's hands. They may stop it from ye Rent in Westmerland; wch ought to be paid to ye Trustees, and not to ye Curate.

„ 3. Thursday. Mr Benson sent out, in ye morning, wth my Circular Letter to the Freemen of Carlile in ye parish of Stanwix; and Jos. Porter with ye like, in ye Afternoon, to the several Streets in Town, Bochardby, Newtown, &c. At Dinner Col. Stanwix and Mr Christopherson. To ye former I Shew'd a copy of my Letter and Instructions: Who, finding y^t^ I had peremptorily forbidden all Reflections on himself or S^r^ Ja. Montague,* and onely requested a Vote for Mr Musgrave, promises fair Quarter on his part.

„ 4. Friday. Mr Benson return'd with a pretty good Acc^t^ of his parishioners; but, in several places, found y^t^ Jos. Read† had impudently represented Mr C. M. as one for bringing in ye P. of Wales. Qu.

„ 5. Saturday. Mr Christopherson went home, after Dinner, staying for more News than came. A single Letter, under a cover, from Portugal, cost 3^s^ 6^d^.

„ 6. Sunday. Ald. Ja. Nicolson came in ye Afternoon; meeting my Letter, wth his Son's (frō Portugal) enclos'd. He flatters Mr M. with hopes of Success at Carlile; but manifestly miscounts, since few Dead Votes.

„ 7. Munday. At Dinner onely Mr Walker and Mr Dawson, ye Probationer Reader of Wethermelock; who promises that

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* This is the first mention of Sir James Montague, a Whig official, who represented Carlisle in Parliament for many years. At this time the Bishop was only concerned for Christopher Musgrave, the unsuccessful Tory candidate; in 1710 he acted in the interest of Sir James Montague in a manner which brought him into trouble with the House of Commons. Politics appear then to have been much subordinated to family and personal considerations. See Ferguson's *M.P.'s for Cumberland and Westmorland.*

† Joseph Read entered the Merchant's Guild, 1673; was a farmer of the City Tolls, 1679, with W. Nicholson and others; and became clerk to the Fraternity of Butchers, 1692 (Corporation Records). He is mentioned in the diary, April 15th, 1708, as possessing very great influence in Carlisle elections.

his future behaviour shall be good. After noon, Mr G. Lawson, resolveing to protest agt ye Election at Salkeld-Yeats; and young Gibson of Edenhal, who will be ready wth money (haveing now onely 7lb) agt ye time of ye Elections being fix'd for Carlile. NB. Sr H. Mackworth has sent down pamphlets to be dispers'd amongst ye Clergy, &c as Preparatives for a good election. Mr L's project of secureing a future Interest at Carl. by a decent Loan of his Father's dormant 1000lb. Sr G. F. (of pretious memory) thought yt half of yt sum would do it.

May 8. Tuesday. Mr Sandford of Askham din'd wth me; and (inter alia) gave me an Acct of his own good managemt in hireing his Threshing at 20d & 2s (for oats & Bigg) p. Skep, yt is, 12 Bushel Penrith Measure & 8 of Carlisle; allowing onely an Assistant at Winnowing, and ye Hinderends to pass in ye Acct. The highest he pays, is 2s and 2s 6d. NB. Dr Smallwood's Saying of Dr Comber's Companion of ye Altar: The Book good, but ye Author will not endure persecution. True.

,, 9. Wednesday. I returned Mr Recorder Aglionby his visit, at Nunnery; where I found him in ye Gowt (wch 'tis fear'd, will last till after ye Election is over at Carlile) but pretty hearty. He has (singly) recommended Sr Ja. Montague by Letter to ye Freemen of Houghton, &c; and that's as far as I can find, all yt he intends. Musgrave & Stanwix he leaves (more suo) to yir own respective strengths.

,, 10. Thursday. In ye evening, came Mrs Robinson of Ousby; very desireous to have her son Will (my Godson) placed with my Br Joseph; and mov'd also (less agreably) for ye bringing back her eldest son, frō Egremont into this Diocese.

,, 11. Friday. At Dinner, Mr Lowthian, Mr Rumney, Cous. Ed. Bird and Tho. Sowerby; the three first petitioning for Justice speedily (agt Mr Geo. Towry) in ye case of ye Quire of Kirk-oswald,* and ye last agt Philip Walker for that at Renwick.

,, 12. Saturday. Early in the morning, Mr Whittingdale with news of Mr Waterson's death† (I was presently invited to ye Funeral) and desireing Advice, whether he sd apply for Sowerby? By all means. One James Hodgson (of Moor-

* See Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, pp. 115, 119.

† Edward Waterson had been vicar of (Castle) Sowerby from 1664. Whittingdale's nomination to this living was one occasion of the controversy between Dean Atterbury and the Chapter, as will be seen later.

houses near Armathwt in ye parish of Hesket) tells me that yir Parish Clerk preaches to ym once in ye month, when Mr Wells* goes to Wrey; and that Mr Kirkbride left 10lb to yir Church-Stock, which was paid in by his Widow (afterwards Mrs Hasell†) but is now quite embezzled. Qu. The man appear'd to have a particular spight at Mr W. and therefore ye less credible. At Dinner, Ensign Sill; takeing his leave of the Church and me. In the evening, the Queen's Writt for ye next Parliament; brought by an Inn-Keeper of Newcastle, ye Messenger being fallen sick on ye Road.

May 13. Sunday. Sundry (over-night) Dispatches sent off in the morning, relateing to the Election of Carlile: wch is said to be fix'd for Friday next.

„ 14. Munday. Several Messengers (and abundance of Letters) in ye morning, on ye Carlile-Election; and three servts & Horses to fetch home my Sisters from Torpenhow. At Dinner, Cous. M. Nicolson (of Linstock) with a Letter from her Grandson‡ at Leverpool, giveing an uncertain Acct of his Amour at Manchester.

„ 15. Tuesday. At Dinner (wth ye foremention'd) Mr Holm of Lowther, Mr Ch. Usher and Mr Bell of Kirklinton, who promises to be a hearty sollicitor for Mr Musgrave. Mr H. gave me an odd Acct of a pretended Courrier frō ye D. of Argyle (sent to Lowther by Dr Todd) with ye Discovery of a Highland-Plott: But ye Story looks very awkward. — Mr Sheriff Briscoe call'd in ye evening, and has some Thoughts of makeing his Br Musgrave (not yet in Orders) his Chaplain at ye Assizes.

„ 16. Wednesday. Mr Holme in mighty Indignation agt Mr W. Fleming for non-performance of Covenants in ye case of ye Westmerland-Election. News of ye Emperour's Death.

„ 17. Ascension-Day. At the Cathedral & ye Gilds notwth-standing Mr Chancr's Advice to ye Contrary. The Ld Governour§ (supported by Coll. Fletcher) very pert; and

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* Thomas Wells, licensed to preach and serve the cure of Heskett, 1680; died 1710. "The Curate (Mr. Wells) is Regular in his own person; and keeps the Parishioners in the like Order."—Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 93.

† Sir Edward Hasell, of Dalemain, married first Jane, eldest daughter of Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh and widow of Bernard Kirkbride. She died 1695.

‡ Fetherston, son of James Nicolson, of Penrith. See July 14.

§ "Ld. Governour" must be a slip for "Lt. Governour." The Lieutenant-Governour at this time appears to have been Lieutenant-Colonel Stanwix. See July 18th and 23rd. The Governour was Jeremiah Bubb, who was probably not resident in Carlisle.

(forwardly) declares that y^e^ Queen made him L. Govr purposely to secure his being chosen again for y^e^ Parliam^t^. Qu. Mr Rec^r^ put into as good an humour as his engagements to Ld C. would allow = But (upon y^e^ whole) little hopes of carrying y^e^ Election for Mr Musgrave, Mr Chanc^r^ & others utterly forsakeing us.

May 18. Friday. In y^e^ morning I sent away Rob. XX^man^ to Appleby, to fetch home my two sons, and James Hoodless to assist at y^e^ Election at Carlile; which wofully miscarry'd, M^r^ M's pretended friends having intolerably abus'd him and me. Col. Stanwix had upwards of 300 voices, S^r^ Ja. Montague 280 and my friend onely 135. O Tempora!

,, 19. Saturday. The particulars of ye Carlile-Election (full of Treacherous Villany, & not worth recounting) brought home by my B^r^ John. My two sons came from Appleby.

,, 20. Sunday. At Chapple and Dinner Cous. Roger Briscoe (serious and good) with his wife frō Whitehaven. An Employment of any kind, in ye Salt-office or elsewhere, very acceptable; after 10 months Imprisonm^t^ in France.

,, 22. Tuesday. At Dinner, Mr Ald. How and Cous. Langstaff; both arraigning the Treachery of M^r^ M's p^r^tended friends, and particularly angry at Mr Chanc^r^ who sollicited Ned Rickarby ag^t^ us.

,, 25. Friday. Afternoon, I went to pay a visit to Mr Sheriff at Crofton. His Lady not dispos'd to see me, till I had acquainted her Husband y^t^ Mr Lawson had done with ye Thoughts of giveing him any trouble ab^t^ ye County Election.

After this, all very kind.

NB. Dr Todd alarm'd ab^t^ his letting ye Scotch pretender to a Discovery of a Plot slip thro' his fingers. — Mr Threlkeld* came in, from ye wood, as rude as heretofore.

,, 26. Saturday. In ye morning, Cous. Grace Skelton (of Barwickside) desireing leave for ye Reg^t^ Mr R. Agl. to fetch home her Dividend from Northampton. Mr Wells, with her, thinks it more adviseable to have the money return'd by Mr Brougham: And so do I, for many Reasons; chiefly because Mr Agl. will be tedious in bringing it home.†

Afternoon, Mr Derby of Culgaith (wth his wife) petitioning to be restor'd to his Reader's place; promiseing never to

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* See April 8th, 1706.

† The Bishop had not a high opinion of Richard Aglionby. See January 2nd, $170\frac{5}{6}$, and March 14th, $17\frac{10}{11}$, where he calls him "my Profligate Regr."

marry clandestinely again. He had been twice pardon'd; and is not now to be trusted.

May 27. Whitsunday. The moveable Feast-day on w^ch (Jun. 3. 1655) I was born. At Dinner, Dr Law, sent for to Mrs Holm of Holm-Hill, who is in a dangerous Feaver, y^e consequent of ye measels. Afternoon, Jos. Porter sent to enquire after ye condition of Sr John Ballantine; who (the D^r tells me) is fallen into a palsey, &c, and in very great hazard of dyeing.

,, 28. Munday. In ye evening, Mr Archdeacon Fleming; who disavows his haveing medled ag^t Mr C. Musgrave, but declares his readiness (in case Mr Lawson had more early desisted) to have serv'd his Interests.

,, 29. W. Tuesday. Two young men (Cragg and Wilkinson) examin'd and Licens'd to the Schools of Crosby-Ravensworth and Reegill. Mr Sheriff Briscoe, Sr Richard Musgrave and Mr Threlkeld, in their Road to Penrith; in order to attend tomorrow's election, of K^ts of the Shire, at Salk^dyeats. At Dinner, Cousin Briscoe of Carlile, wth her two youngest sons & Daughter Susan, looking towards y^e Clergy.

June 1. Friday. Mr A. D^n Fleming came to morning Prayer; and, after Dinner, examin'd (as I also did) Mr Railton, from Kirkby-Stephen, for priest's Orders, & Mr Smith (of Richmond) and young Rickarby for Deacon's = The last, bred onely at Bampton, full as good a Scholar as y^e Cambridge Batchelour. — In the Evening, I walk'd (wth Mr A. D^n &c) to Bromfield-Raw, where new Light frō the Bleechers of Linnen-Cloth. A fine web of 40 yards (with a couple, of 16 each, of coarse Tow) out of three Stone of Line. The fine at 2^s ye coarse at 6^d together, makes 4^lb 16^s out of wch Line costs 1^lb 2^s 6^d. Weeveing, ye fine (at 4^d p. yard) 13^s 4^d, the coarse (at 2^d) 5^s 4^d. Bleeching, ye fine (at 2^d p. yard) 6^s 8^d, the coarse (at 1^d) 2^s 8^d Brings the expenses, in all, to 2^lb 10^s 6^d. Rests, wages for Spinning (to two women, from ab^t Martinmas to Mid Lent) 2^lbs 5^s 6^d.

,, 4. Munday. I waited on ye L^d and Lady Lonsdale at Lowther, together with the Archd^n. We found my Lady full of ye election, wch was to be ye next day, for the County of Westmerland; & doubtful of ye success of her cousin Lowther. Returning by Penrith, we visitted Col. Fletcher & Dr Todd; and return'd to Rose at half an hour past eleven at night.

,, 5. Tuesday. After Dinner Mr A. D^n return'd to Carlile. In ye evening, at ye Bishop's-moss, we took Eggs and young

ones of the white (black-cap'd) Larus; and, comeing home, I found Mr Gillan (an ejected Episcopalian) sent by ye Bp of Edenburgh for Ld Thanet's money. He represents ye present Ministry of Scotland as mighty Bigots for ye presbyterian Interest; especially (ye Justice Clerk) Cockburn of Ormistown; who has been a Rigorous prosecutor of several of ye Episcopal Clergy.

June 6. Wednesday. James Hoodless sent to Carlile to procure 100lb in Guinneas for Silver. But got not half ye Gold desir'd.

„ 7. Thursday. A second dispatch of Charity from Ld Th* and his sister (ye Lady Cov.) to ye B. of Edinb. for his own use and the Distress'd of his Order & late Dignitaries of yir persecuted Church viz.

	lb	s.	d.
61 Guinneas, at	65	11	6
15 Lewis D'ores	12	15	0
In Silver	21	13	6
In all	100	0	0

This money sent by Mr Gillane; who was conducted (as desired) to Allison-Bank by (Jos. Porter) one of my own Servts.

„ 8. Friday. In ye Afternoon, L. Simpson (Attourney for the Tenants of Dalston) call'd on me for ye minutes of Records in the Tower, relateing to ye Case of ye Tolls; & I protested agt ye Issues being joyn'd in my Name. He promis'd they should not; and repeated this promise to my brother afterwards at ye Hollins in Hawksdale.

„ 11. Munday. Afternoon, young Chr. Gibson with his Bride, from Rosley, wondrously pleas'd with his being C. Pennington's son in Law. Old Mr Newton† in ye morning, very impatient till he sees what Q. Ann's Bounty will do for him.

„ 12. Tuesday. A Synod held at Carlile, for ye election of members of Convocation for ye Diocese. After ye Call was over, I addressed my Brethren on 3 Heads.

1. The Order of ye H. of Lords (of Mar 2. 1704) requireing ye Bishops to bring in an Acct of papists and reputed

* Thomas Tufton, sixth Earl of Thanet, succeeded 1683; died 1729. His sister Margaret married George, Lord Coventry. See *Correspondence of Bishop Nicolson*, edited by John Nichols.

† Hugh Newton, licensed to assist at Newton (Reigny), 1664; collated 1676; resigned 1707. "A poor old man, of qualifications suitable for ye preferment." —Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 146.

papists,* ye value of y^ir Estates, places of Abode, Advowsons, &c. This was shewn to be no new Thing (as some of 'em seem'd to think it) from ye Journals, Art. 19. and Can. 65. being also quoted & explain'd. They were likewise told y^t ye Clergy of y^s Diocese were under a more peculiar Obligation to make accurate Returns; since ye Order had its Rise from ye unpresidented Insolence of a popish priest's haveing clandestinely marry'd (at Corby) a Noble Lord's Daughter,† when her mother was in the House.

2. A late Order of ye Comm^rs for a Return of ye value of all liveings under 80^lb for ye capacitateing y^m to be augmented (hereafter) out of Qu. Ann's Bounty in ye Tenths & First-fruits; which enlarg'd upon.

3. The chief business of ye Day, in pursuance of ye AB. of York's Mandate, to choose proctors for ye Diocese: The greatest of ye Trust: &c. Mr Wickins and Mr Gibbon (who had newly preach'd a very good sermon on 1 Cor. 12. 19. Are all Apostles &c) being again propos'd were elected Nemine Contradicente; Dr Todd, who was present, haveing met with Discouragements in his private offers of himself. The Vice Dean & Chapter stay'd in ye Chapter-House (returning from y^ir Attendance on me to ye foot of ye Stairs) and immediately chose Mr Chanc^r Tullie for their proctour. We din'd (26 in all) at an Ordinary, provided by Mrs Tate; and parted before two o'clock. After Evening-prayer. Sister Spooner (wth a trembling Concern & Tears) imparted to me a Design of her takeing E. Carlile‡ for a second Husband, he offering to settle her Lease of Rocliff on her children &c. 'Tis too late to advise. As we came thro' Botchardgate, Mr Townson brought me an Acc^t (by Letter from Mr Crosby) of ye death of my Brother Fisher.

June 13. Wednesday. In ye morning, Gregory Simpson (by mistake) borrows my Scotch Historical Library; which he knows nothing of. At Dinner, Mr Wickins, Mr Gibbon and Mr Christopherson. To ye first I lent a bundle of his p^rdecessor's (T. Machel's) papers relateing to his Controversy with Mr Dalston about the Quire at Temple-Sowerby: To the

* See Nichols, pp. 330-332.

† The Bishop's diary for March, 1704, is wanting; and the journals of the House of Lords throw no light on the subject. Thomas Howard, son of William Howard of Corby, had married Barbara Lowther, daughter of John Viscount Lonsdale. The diary of September 5th, 1706, makes it probable that this is the marriage referred to.

‡ For E. Carlile, see note on July 11th, 1704.—These *Transactions*, N.S. ii., 198. Compare also the diary of June 28th and 30th, and July 7th, 1705.

second, I gave a sett of ye four pamphlets (relateing to Convocation-matters) sent down by Mr Churchil: To ye last, 30^s^ (my promis'd contribution, when Vicar of Adingham, towards the reimburseing of ye Charges of W. Jameson and John Grey on ye School-Acc^t^) to be repaid me, in case ye Rest give not in y^ir^ proportions.

June14. Thursday. The Day of ye meeting of ye English and Scotch parliam^ts^ and of my entrance into ye 4th year of my Consecration. May God enable me to discharge my Duty in those (if any) that are yet to come!
At Dinner, Mr Faircloth and Mr Sam. Reed (fellow of Qu. Coll. Oxon) not very edifying in their Conversation.

,, 16. Saturday. This evening dy'd my honest neighbour, and old Friend, Matt. Miller.

,, 18. Munday. Early to meet Mr Gibbon at W. Gasgarth's; whence we went to Threlkeld-Tarn,* to fish (as it prov'd) for nothing but Water-Emmets, no fish being ever known to live in y^t^ cold Lake. At the Force-Dubb below, we made a second fruitless Attempt: And I return'd wth Mr Benson and Cous. Chambers, more than sufficiently tir'd wth ye empty Expedition.

,, 19. Tuesday. To Highhead about eleven, to attend ye Funeral of my friend M. Miller;† whose Body (attended by S^r^ Ed. Hasel, Mr Sandford, Mr Huddleston, Mr Brougham, several from Lowther &c) was Interr'd at Newton, in Mr Richmond's Grave, ye Office & Sermon by Mr Benson. The Day dismally hot & Soultry. In our Return, at Sewel Gate, decently treated by Mr Brougham; who had sent off a Servt to bring thither wine, syder and ale. In the way home, I gave a short compliment of Condoleance to ye disconsolate widow; who appeared as sensible afflicted as on a former like occasion.

,, 20. Wednesday. The day of ye Birth of my eldest & youngest Daughters, and of my own Baptism. Onely Mr Wybergh

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* Otherwise called Scales Tarn.

> "Never sunbeam could discern
> The surface of that sable tarn,
> In whose black mirror you may spy
> The stars, while noontide lights the sky."
>
> Scott's *Bridal of Triermain.*

See also the diary July 26th, 1704. An "emmet" is an ant. But what are "water emmets?"

† Matthias Miller had married Isabella, widow of Christopher Richmond of Highhead Castle. See note on July 9th, 1702.

at Dinner; when ye Alarming news brought of ye French Fleet's being on ye Coasts of Scotland. Deus protege!

June21. Thursday. 'Twixt five and six in ye morning came ye Chanc^r^ frō his probates at Appleby; haveing chosen to Travel in ye night, to avoid ye Intolerable Heat of ye Day. He met with ye Dean at Penrith on Tuesday, in his way to Carlile; where he arriv'd late y^t^ night. No notice taken of Rose.

„ 24. Sunday and Midsummer-day. B^r^ John saies ye Dean gave his Service & saies he'l pay his Duty, as soon as ye Chapter-Business is over.

„ 25. Munday. At Dinner, came in Mr Charles, Phil. and Tho. Orfeurs,* the two last frō Ireland, wth L^rs^ frō Coll. Nicolson and W. Benson, ye latter starveing.

In ye evening, my Brother brought me (frō ye Chanc^r^) a copy of ye obsolete Act of ye 1 & 2 of Qu. Mary Sess. 2. Cap. 9. produced by Mr Dean;† wherein 'tis said y^t^ H. 8's new erected Colleges had not Statutes Indented, according to the Form of y^ir^ Foundations, and therefore they have no Statutes or Ordinances of any Force or Authority. But—will not ye Common Law (cited in 33 Hen. 8. cap 27) make good these Statutes?

„ 27. Wednesday. Mr Lewthwait,‡ with his parishioners, earnest for my writeing on his behalf to Lowther, y^t^ he may succeed

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* For the Orfeur family, see a paper by W. Jackson, F.S.A., in the C. & W. *Transactions*, vol. viii.

† Here begins the controversy with regard to the validity of the Cathedral statutes: it gave occasion to the Act of Parliament (6 Anne, c. 21) by which the validity of the statutes of the Cathedrals of the New Foundation was established. A clear account of the matter is given in the preface to Chancellor Prescott's *Translation of the Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Carlisle* and (less fully) in Chancellor Ferguson's *Diocesan History of Carlisle*. Dean Atterbury, supported by Dr. Todd, against the other three prebendaries—Tullie, Fleming, and Atkinson—denied the authority of the statutes given by Henry VIII. (on the ground that they were not given under the Great Seal, nor by any indenture, as they ought to have been), and fell back on the Foundation Charter, which gave to the Dean in some respects wider powers. He claimed for the Dean under the Foundation Charter the appointment, correction, and dismissal of all inferior ministers or officers of the Cathedral (as in the case of the two quarrelsome minor canons mentioned November 28th, 1704), and the right to withhold assent from the sealing of presentations and other official documents. The Chapter Order of November 23rd, 1703, had appointed Whittingdale "Prælector infra Ecclesiam nostram Cathedralem." The Dean, supported by Todd, protested against his nomination to the vicarage of Sowerby "to be held by him together with his Lectureship of S. Marie's," on the ground that the parishioners of Sowerby desired a resident vicar. Ultimately Whittingdale was presented by the Bishop to Sowerby, on lapse. In 1708 he was also elected a minor canon. He resigned Sowerby and all his offices in the Cathedral in 1718 on his presentation to the living of Corbridge. He died in 1719.

‡ Thomas Lewthwaite, rector of Beaumont, 1705. See diary, September 23rd, 1704; July 18th and 30th, 1705.

Mr Trant at Beaumont. I cannot do that; but do wish his Success.

June28. Thursday. At Dinner Mr Dean & ye whole Chapter; Mr Burrow of Hutton; Mr Langstaff; Mr Jefferson of Cockermouth; Mr Railton, Curate of K. Stephen, &c. Upon parting, Mr Dean desir'd a word in private. He began his Address with ye utmost protestations of Duty and respect; wishing yt he & ye whole Chapter might ever act in a fair Correspondence with ye Bishop in all matters, and yt whatever had pass'd (particularly) 'twixt him & me might be forgot: But (hinc illæ Lachrymæ!) complain'd yt three of the prebendaries, he found, were resolv'd to oppose him in everything; and that, at this present, they had combin'd (without his privity) to bestow ye vicarage of Sowerby on Mr Whittingdale. &c &c. I call'd ye three yt were left (Mr Atkinson & his wife being gone) and wish'd 'em, before Mr Dean's face, to agree; and not suffer ye Liveing to Lapse: For that (probably) I should give it to neither of yir Candidates.

Mr Langstaff press'd the giveing way to my Sis. Spooner's marriage wth E. Carlile. I told, I had already advis'd (if the case was as I fear'd) their speedy marriage: But unless the man would take out a License in ye usual Form, could say no more. He seem'd to hint that ye method was resolv'd on; and I wish'd it might, as hitherto, be kept a secret from me.

,, 30. Saturday. In ye morning, according to promise, I sent Halton's Register-Book to Mr Dean; that he might see ye Instrumts transcribed for Dr Wake were there, and yt he might freely make wt other Observations he thought proper. — My brother carry'd also an Assignment of ye Tithes of Rocliff to ye use of Sister Spooner's children; that, since she resolves to give herself in second marriage, the poor Infants may not be depriv'd of ye small portion purchas'd by their father. The wedding, he tells me, is design'd the next week: And he believes, for ye greater modesty of ye matter, ye Scotch side of ye water will have ye first Scene.

July 1. Sunday. Early in ye morning came an Alarming Letter frō Mr Banks; acquainting us that my Son Joseph was taken so violently ill, yt he fear'd ye worst & crav'd Advice. Tho' this suddain & noisy message struck my wife, I soon (upon discoursing ye Boy yt brought ye Letter) apprehended his Distemper to be ye Measles. However I sent away Ja. Hoodless; ordering him to take Dr Pearson (from Penrith)

along with, and resolv'd (wth humble Resignation to ye will of God) patiently to wait the Issue.

July 2. Munday. Onely Mr Walker at Dinner. This day mowers set on. Agreed wth G. Monkhouse (& 5 more) for 4^lb^ 10^s^ by ye Great: The Lee-Flatt reckon'd at 10 acres, will (saies George) make 20 Day-work. I reckon it at 14, and ye Sole-meadow is computed (ye far Flatt being wholly Grass'd) at 69, in all 83.

,, 3. Tuesday. At Dinner, Mr Chambers of Kendale wth Mr Jos. Sympson's son; both frō Lowther. The former highly extols the carriage of ye young Ld Lonsdale at ye Westmerland Election; applying himself, in a proportionable Respect, to those y^t^ favour'd the Interests of his Cousin.

,, 4. Wednesday. Good news of my Elder-Son's Recovery from ye Measles; which (tho' they blinded him, for some dayes, of one eye) are now dying away; and he begins to look up and eat. Deo Gratias! Mr Banks saies Thirty more of his Scholars are now in the same Distemper.

,, 6. Thursday. In ye evening, Cous. Fisher and his Sister (together wth Mr Crosby and Mr Cock A.B.) came to Rose; and brought me an acc^t^ of Dr Archer's being like to suffer for's chum Wybergh.

,, 7. Friday. I and my brother, according to Appointment went to Carlile; where we din'd wth Mr Dean & the Chapter, not yet made one, and (haveing after Dinner visitted Cous. Gr. Tate, S. Clark's Knickknackatory, Cous. Langstaff's Family & Mrs Tullie) were follow'd home by our Kendale-Friends, who detarded Chapter-matters by a stay of ye Archdeacon's till near 9 at night.

NB. Heute (glaube ich) ist meiner shwester Sp gehäyrahted* dem E. C. zu Rocliff beym H. Dav. Bell† Woselst auch present gewest G. Langstaff.

,, 9. Munday. A Soland-Goose, sent by Ld Pitmeddon, surfeited all my Guests with its Smell. After Dinner, Mr Wybergh‡

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* The Bishop's German handwriting is not very legible; but I think that this represents correctly his peculiar spelling. At all events he clearly means that his sister was married. No such marriage, however, is recorded in the registers of Rocliff or Stanwix.

† David Bell, M.A., became vicar of Askham, 1690, on the deprivation of his brother Thomas Bell for not taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. He resigned Askham in 1695 on becoming rector of Kirklinton, which he resigned 1707. He is called in the diary (March 28th, 1706), "Cous. D. Bell," apparently because his wife was a Langstaff.

‡ See note on July 3rd, 1702. Many references to his debts are found in the diary. In 1708 and 1709 his living (Caldbeck) seems to have been sequestrated, and on June 3rd, 1708, he was apparently himself in prison. On December 18th, 1712, he was out of prison, "in a poor state," but not out of debt. On November 4th, 1713, he officiated in the chapel at Rose Castle, and was living at Caldbeck.

seal'd a Bond of Counter-Security to Dr Archer for his Debt of 50lb to Mr R. Fisher.

July 10. Tuesday. A message & Letters from Mr Dean Atterb. returning an old Register Book, & challenging a promise of collateing a Third person to Sowerby, if it lapses. Ansrd.

„ 11. Wednesday. Takeing Leave of my Kendale-Friends, in ye morning, I went to the Sessions at Carlile; where Sr R. Musgrave, Mr Aglionby, Colls Fletcher and Stanwix, Mr Fetherston, Mr Blencow & Mr Brougham. On a Letter frō Mr Gilpin (gone to Lancashire) I got two purveys transferr'd frō ye Bridge at Irthing to those at Carlile. I became bound, for Br John, to Mr Lawson for 200lbs. Mr Dean & ye Chapter irreconcileable abt ye Vicarage of Sowerby.
Home abt 9 at night.

„ 12. Thursday. At Dinner Mr Chancr Tully, Mr Christian and his son, Mr Proctor and's wife. The first saies ye Chapter is ended with abundance of Mr Dean's protestations; but no presentation to Sowerby. Esqr Ballantine has gotten possession of one of his Father's Wills; and seems inclinable not to prove it.
In ye evening, Mr Patten,* sensible of his being made a Tool of to his Damage; but hopes for Encouragemt frō ye men of Penrith.

„ 13. Friday. At Dinner, Cous. Susan Orfeur and her daughter Mary; to whom Sr J. B. has left 50lb. It. Mr Nicolson (of Easby) returning home; full of Impertinence and clumsy Satyr in Verse, of his own Composure, upon the Ld Wh. and ye late election at Richmond.

„ 14. Saturday. In ye morning, Mr Hind of L. Strickland with a Nomination of Jos. Park (not yet 21 years of age) to be curate and Schoolmaster of Thrimby. Licens'd to Read and Teach; exceptis Sacramentis &c. Mr H. tells me yt James Baxter's Gift to Swindale in ye parish of Shap is like to be lost by a Writt de Lunatico probando, lately executed & return'd; wherein Mr Christian was ye Chief Counsel agt ye Charity. Qu. If not recoverable or Tenable (since ye Trustees are yet in possession) by a Commission of pious uses? At Dinner, Fetherston Nicolson from Liverpool: He's to be certify'd for about three weeks hence, and continues to hope well of his Amour at Manchester. In ye evening, about six, came Mr Dean Atterbury (accompany'd

* Dr. Todd's curate at Penrith. See August 31 and September 22. He had been ordained deacon September 20th, 1702.

wth Mr Langstaff) to take Leave; being on his Return, upon Munday, for ye South. He will have ye Opposition he has met with in Chapter to proceed wholly from the Chanc^r^ whom he hopes to conquer in some secret methods of his own. We parted fairly & Friendly.

July 16. Munday. B^r^ Nevinson & Mr Kanier.* My b^r^ tells me of several seditious emblems & Verses thrown ab^t^ ye countrey; As, a Weather-Cock wth the motto of Semper Eadem: And ye following Tetrastich,

> Whilst Anna was ye Church's Daughter,
> She practis'd w^t^ her mother taught her;
> But, now she's Mother to ye Church,
> She leaves her Daughter in ye Lurch.

Mr K. complains of ye want of a Barn, both at Sebergham and Welton; and that there's no Boarding but at a public House.

,, 17. Tuesday. A p^r^sentation frō Sr J. Lowther (of the Vicarage of Barton) brought by Mr Stainton of St Beghe's who had Institution, accompany'd by Mr Yates (of Whitehaven) and D^r^ Ed. Benson. The Vicar has been long a Trusty manager of his patron's Temporalties in ye West; & 'tis hoped he'l look after Sock-bridge as faithfully.

,, 18. Wednesday. News of ye D. of Marlbrough's forceing ye French lines at Tirlmont &c. Mr Langstaff and T. Lawson swore y^ir^ Affidavits ag^t^ ye Lieu^t^ Govr's^ rescueing of Scotch Salt. Mr Lewthw^t^ peremptorily denies ye Crime of Clandestine marriages, charg'd on him by J. Reed; maliciously & in favour of Mr Threlkeld's Son in Law.

,, 19. Thursday. At Dinner, Coll. G. Fletcher, Mr A. D. Fleming and Capt Knox; all merry, and well pleas'd with our great success in Flanders. The Coll. saies ye Forces beyond Sea have now 14 weeks Subsistence in Arrears; and ye remaining pay of as many months.

,, 20. Friday. Afternoon, I and Mr B. went to see Mrs Miller; whom we found cheerful enough, for ye first month after her Husband's Burial. We return'd by Mr Faircloth's; & found him (& his Maud) in a homely Dress. Jos. Reed (we were told) was there: But he absconded.

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* James Kinneir, M.A., curate of Seburgham, 1695. "The present curate (Mr. Kanyer) an honest and modest Scotchman."—Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 11.

July 23. Munday. In ye morning, Geo. Cape and J. Hayton (a constable) inform'd me y^t^ they had J. Wilson, one of those concern'd in ye murder of W. Churdon, now in custody: But had such a warrant frō Mr Gilpin, as would not justify his Commitm^t^. As we were discourseing, Mr Gilpin came happily (on another occasion) & gave 'em a Mittimus; haveing takeing Depositions on Oath ag^t^ him. Mr G. stay'd dinner, And I took his Affidavit, & two more, on ye outrage of L. Coll. Stanwix; wch were sent, by the Penrith post, up to Lowther.

,, 24. Tuesday. At Dinner Mr R. Aglionby; with an Account of his Expedition to London on Grace Skelton's errand. Each of ye Northern Administrators get 144^lb^ present, and a prospect of about 100^lb^ more. He brought also ye Resolves of the Scotch parliament, in the same words and (Jul. 17) on ye same day of ye month with what they said last year: That this parliam^t^ will not proceed to the Nomination of a Successor till we have a previous Treaty wth England in Relation to our Commerce and other Concerns with y^r^ Nation. And farther it is Resolv'd, That this parliam^t^ will proceed to make out Limitations and Conditions of Government for the Rectification of our Constitution as may Secure the Liberty, Religion and Independency of this Kingdome, before they proceed to ye s^d^ Nomination.

,, 25. Wednesday. In ye way to Sr Edw. Hasell's, I waited (accidentally) on Mr Charles Howard Junr newly com'd to Greystock-Castle; where he'l be perswaded to wash with a white paint, his pye-ball'd new Buildings. At Dalmain, wth Mr Gibbon, before Eleven. We were kindly treated by Sr Edwd who is (justly) suppos'd to be goeing off; his Intellectuals being sensibly sunk. After Dinner, we return'd (in ye evening) to Greystock, by ye way of How-Lees (a single House on ye side of ye Common) betwixt Newbiggin and Stainton; where we found fine Varieties of ye Trochitæ, Mr Llwyd's Tubularia pentagona and other Curious Fossils.

,, 26. Thursday. In ye morning, we walk'd out to view (and taste) several extraordinary Springs about the Town of Greystock; one of which they call Eye-Keld, Mary-Keld (or S. Mary's well, corruptly marigold-spring) Tolly-Keld i.* Th' Holy Keld, and the Fountain in Buzzard-How; wch last was observ'd (by Mr Edw. Wilkinson's Farmer) to rise higher in this late great Summer's Drought than ever it was

* Probably "i.e."

known to do before and to contract its stream upon the Rain's comeing on.* Hence to view the good observance of a late Injunction of mine by ye Churchwardens; who have set up a handsome New Font, and floor'd the Body and Side-Isles of the Church very well. The seats and north-east Corner of the Steeple do yet want their care. On one of the Bells† are some Conjureing Spels, for ye more effectual binding of excommunicated persons; such as were to be denounced so by Bell, Book and Candle. On another ye Common Address to St Andrew; the Tutelar Saint of the Church. Here Sr H. Fletcher, in his way frō ye Castle, call'd on me with a Running Complim^t^. After Dinner, and a short complaint on old Grievances by Mr Ireland, I gave a visit to Mrs Williams of Johnby;‡ who was rude in her Reflections on her Son Gibbon, as one y^t^ had no Lands or Tenem^ts^ but what her Daughter brought him. Hence home to Rose.

Aug. 1. Wednesday. Afternoon, M^r^ A D and my other Guests took leave; the first desireing me to draw up ye State of the Case in Reference to the Deans & Chapters on the Statute of 2^d^ Parl. 1 & 2 of Ph. & Mary, cap. 9.

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* The late Rev. E. A. Askew wrote to me the following information:—"Icold Spring still exists, and still used. A row of houses also called by same name, 'Icold Lane;' name spelt in old register 'Eyekeld.' Marigold Spring still exists, and is still used. It rises in the Park, and supplies the ponds in front of Castle. Tolly Well or Tolly Keld is still in existence as a strong flowing spring discharging into the Petteril. I myself remember some 25 or 26 years ago children on the first Sunday in May going in a kind of procession to this well with bottles filled with water in which were four lumps of liquorice. On reaching the well this decoction was shaken up into a froth, and drunk by the children. The Sunday was always known as 'Bottle-shaking Sunday,' and on that afternoon it was impossible to get any children to Sunday School or children's service. The oldest inhabitants always remember this custom, but fail to know any legend as to its origin. Buzzard Howe and its fountain or well I cannot trace. But I have a theory that it was at the entrance north of the Park, just within the Park boundary. Outside this is a little valley and a road, on the other side of which is Howe Hill. Close to the Park wall is an ancient well, 'Thanet Well.' This may be the spring and well in question." For "Bottle-shaking Sunday," we may compare the statement in the C. & W. *Transactions*, N.S., vol. ii., p. 82, that "at Holy Wells in Cumberland and Yorkshire the country-folks used to drink the water with sugar on the patron saint's day."

† For an account of the bells, still at Greystoke, see the C. & W. *Transactions*, vol. xi., p. 134. There do not, however, appear to be any "conjureing spels."

‡ William Williams came out of Wales, bought Johnby, and was steward at Greystoke Castle. He died 1679. His epitaph in Greystoke Church (not now preserved, but recorded by the Bishop in his *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 130) mentioned that by his wife "Barbara, charissima, pia," he had four daughters. Of these the eldest was second wife of Sir E. Hasell; the youngest married Dr. Gibbon, rector of Greystoke, and afterwards Dean of Carlisle. The Bishop did not share the high opinion of Mr. Williams expressed in the epitaph (see the diary, July 11th, 1690), but this did not prevent him from subsequently proposing to marry one of the daughters.

Aug. 4. Saturday. After Dinner, a Letter frō Tim. Richardson (just broke) by his poor wife; who, by the way, stumbled on the Advantage given to their Dissenting preacher by the Curate's (Mr Clark's) Thatching &c. pudeat &c.

„ 7. Tuesday. Ld Lonsdale (surpriseingly) wth Mr Lowther* of Meaburn & Mr Holme at Dinner: It, Br Nevinson, Mr Tong and's wife with Mr Key. My Ld's servts brought ye memorial of ye Church of England and the Tryal of Capt Green &c already here.

Mr L. an Ingenious young man; but wants ye experience of a Session or two in Parliamt.

„ 8. Wednesday. I pay'd a visit to Ld Wharton at Cockermouth; where Mr Curwen, Mr Mirshall, &c. My Ld inquisitive whether ye memorial had reach'd this countrey? Yes.

„ 9. Thursday. After a morning's visit to Mr Salkeld at Whitehall, and Dinner wth my Brother, I visitted (in my way home) Mr Ballantine and's lady at Crook-dake. The Esqr for being Justice of Peace as early as may be. NB. The Coach over-turn'd (ye first time) near Mr B's House.

„ 15. Wednesday. I went, wth all my foresd company to Carlile Assizes; and, haveing waited on ye two Judges (Mr J. J. Powel and Blincoe) at their chambers, heard a good Sermon by Mr Whittingdale, din'd wth ye V. Dean and Chapter & made a visit or two in ye Afternoon, I return'd to Rose.

„ 16. Thursday. Again to ye Assizes. My Guests went to Scotland; & I din'd wth ye Judges, haveing 1st discours'd wth J. Powel at large on ye subject of Licenseing of Schools. He's pretty well fix'd. Home at night.

„ 17. Friday. At five in ye morning, I return'd to Carlile; and found Mr J. Blincoe just entering on ye Trial betwixt ye City of Carlile and ye Bp's Tenants of Dalston, Linstock & Crossby. It appear'd yt those of ye two latter places had so long paid (tho in yir own wrong) Tolls upon Demand, without any sort of Opposition, yt I fear'd ye Verdict would have gone against ym: But, after a long Debate and adviseing with ye Judge, ye jury (Mr Lamplugh of ye Fells, Foreman) brought it in more favourable than I expected: finding (on ye former Issue, for there were two) yt ye City had a right to Tolls, and (on ye latter) yt the Bishop and all his

* Robert Lowther, M.P. for Westmorland, 1704 (on death of Sir C. Musgrave), 1705, and 1707. He died shortly afterwards. "Here (in Crosby Ravensworth Church) is a large north Isle, which belongs to R. Lowther of Meaburn, Esqr., who has lately purchas'd the Demesne and Tenants."—Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 76.

Tenants were exempt. Mr Recr Aglionby's exposition of ye word Homines (restraining it to Freeholders) and his proveing ye Antiquity of yir Corporation by a Saxon word in yir Charter occasion'd some mirth. I shew'd Mr J. Powel ye Licenses for Scholemrs in B. Welton's Original Regr-Book; wch pleas'd him much. I dined with Mr A Dn Fleming; who afterwards entertain'd me & (his old acquaintance, & my good friend) Mr Salkeld of ye Temple; whose moyety of Newcastle-Tithes, run 7 years, has a Fine of 120lb to be advanc'd at Michaelmas to 150.

Aug. 18. Saturday. Mr Christian (wth his Son and Nephew Stephenson) at Dinner. He seems to hint that ye Tenants of Dalston & Linstock will not be much better for yir Verdict; & yet Grants yt ye Ld Keeper will probably dismiss ye City's Bill wth costs. Mr Steph' saies, They have ō onely ye Bible (but also ye Liturgy) in ye Mancks Language, translated by Bp Philips. In the evening, Mr Hunter (the prosecutor of J. Wilson for ye murder of W. Churdon) came, wth Mr Key, to beg my Certificate to ye Commrs of Customs that he had done his Duty; wch was granted.

,, 23. Thursday. Thanksgiveing for ye D. of M's forceing ye French Lines. My brother and Sister, with daughter Mal, went to Cous. Langstaff's Christening. In ye evening news brought of Cous. Grace Tate's death; ye smallpox haveing flatted on her, being before weaken'd by a hard Labour: And thus (on a Suddain) her Beauty drop'd in Deformity. Quam fragilis! This week I have had one or two nearer calls to think on my own latterd end = For wch may my merciful God prepare me!

,, 24. Friday. Dr Todd at Dinner, in his way from Arthuret to Penrith, close and politic. Mr Benson, my brother, Daughter Mal & Cous. Kate Fisher went to ye Funeral of poor Gr. Tate.

,, 25. Saturday. In ye Afternoon, Mr Towers curate of Wyburn frō Hutton; where Ld Fitzwilliam, Mr Howard of Greystock & many more Red-Letter'd Gentlemen.

,, 28. Tuesday. In discourse, this evening, wth Dr G. [Garden] I had an Acct of ye Pietists in Germany, newly set up in Imitation of ye Quietists in ye Roman Ch. by Molinos & ye AB. of Cambray.* This not new; for Taulerus and de Sancta Cruce, of modern times, and (as far back as ye 4th Century) Macarius's Homilies are full of ye Devotional

* Fenelon.

way. The Dr himself seems a favourer of these, as most remov'd frō ye present Scotch presbyterians; who damn Tho. de Kempis, and even ye whole Duty of man, as too much favouring ye Doctrine of good works.

Aug. 29. Wednesday. In ye morning Dr G. and his Son took leave; after I had given him (in return for his) a Rect for ye makeing of Gooseberry-vinegar, & some of Ld Th's Guinneas for Mr Symson &c. In ye Afternoon, Mr Ward (of Skelton) pot-Valiant, solliciteing for the Vicarage of Sowerby = whose petition, himself dismiss'd wth Resentmt, was mention'd to ye A.Dn who came soon after he was gone.

,, 30. Thursday. I went (as by promise oblig'd) to take leave of Mrs Agl. and carry'd Mr A.D. with me. Not a word either of ye Suit 'twixt Carlisle & Dalston, nor of ye Renewal of Brunstock Mill.

,, 31. Friday. At Dinner, wth ye ADn, Cous. M. Nicolson & Gr. Skelton, for my witnessing yir Lr of Atturney, Cous. Langstaff, Br and Sister Carlile. Afternoon, Mr Paton; with his long case, on difference wth Dr Todd; who wthout any Allowance of mine, turns hims off, & takes a new curate.

Sep. 3. Munday. In ye morning. Fet. Nicolson wth his certificate frō Leverpool; wch sent to R. Nicolson. At Dinner, Mr Walker, two Whittingdales, Mr Paton (still under Abdication) and Br & Sister Carliles who, in ye afternoon, went off for Torpenhow. Mr Whittingdale of Glasgow saies ye Scotch Heretors were a little fond of appearing in Arms for a little while after ye passing ye Act of Security; but are now all quiet again. NB His prsent of Indian Scepter, Scotch coins &c.

,, 4. Tuesday. At Dinner (unexpectedly) Mr Howard of Greystock; a great Admirer of ye Airy conversation of young Mrs Hutton ap Addison, and of (his particular Acquaintance) ye good Laird of Saltoun.* This Gentleman he saies, has made ye Constitutions of Governmt (ye Excellencies & Deficiencies in each of 'em) his chief Study: And yet, he verily believes, should he make Laws for himself (such is his Instability) he'd be hang'd by them wthin ye year. I had also wth me Mr Prcentor Pattinson† and his

* Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun; born, 1655; died, 1716. He was a pupil of Bishop Burnet of Salisbury, and a noted Republican. For his singular history, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

† John Pattinson, lay clerk in the Cathedral, 1668 to 1689; minor canon, 1690 to 1728.

Son; who is marry'd & comes to look after a Settlem^{t}. Harraby and Wedlock have often gone together.

Sep. 6. Thursday. M^{r} AD. and I went to Hutton, and dined with Sr H. F^{l} who will not bear ye touching upon his (p^{r}sum'd) desertion of his protestant Faith.* The House over-run with Rats, wch eat all his Beds, Hangings. &c. but the Gardens in very good condition; with several new plants frō ye Indies, fair plantations of Firr, Beach, Elm, Lime Trees &c.

Mem ye Gentile Anchor-Smith at Deptford; wth his Canals, Grottoes and Marble Bathing-House.

Dr Pearson & Mr Lowthian dined with us; and the former mightily in love wth Mr Fuller's medicina Gymnastica, by ye help of which he has set S^{r} Ed. Hasell on his Legs.

„ 7. Friday. Din'd with us Cous. W. Tate; still in Affliction for ye loss of his good wife. In Novilunio, nova (cum Deo) vitæ Institutio: ad Regulā dicti nuper medici, qui Nicotianam perniciosissimā Salivæ Vastatorē (ex Auctore Baglivio) prædicat.

„ 8. Saturday. Second Fairs at Carlile; whither my Daughter Mal & Cous. K. Fisher sent off wth ye AD^{n}. In ye morning, a warrant to ye Churchwardens & Over-seers of Westward for John Young. At Noon, Rowl. Bowstede's Brief enlarg'd to the Deanry of Westmerland.

„ 10. Munday. At Dinner, Mr Thomlinson (of Rothbury) and's wife, Cous. Jos. Nicolson and his wife, and a Daughter of Mrs Miller; to whose house Mr T. and Mrs T. went in ye evening. Cousins stay'd all night. Mr T. tells me that he'l shortly transmit a true Terrier of the present state of his Rectory; to be preserv'd here at Rose.

'Twas, he saies, worth about 160^{lb} when he enter'd on it; and is now better'd by 100^{lb} yearly. M^{r} Ch. Montague, he saies absconds.

„ 13. Thursday. Surprized, at Morning-Prayer and Dinner, by Lady Musgrave of Haton and her Son (of ye Six Clerks-Office) & daughter Briscoe; together with A. D. Pearson and Dr Law. My Lady's Errand to treat for ye Renewal of Sr Richard's three Leases. Sharp. Mr Mayor of Carlile (Mr Barwick)† whilst we were at Dinner; and Mr Hend^{r}son

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* Sir Henry Fletcher afterwards became a monk.

† Whellan gives the name of the Mayor of Carlisle appointed 1704 as William Barwise. William Barwick was Mayor 1713; very possibly the same person.

Library-Keeper at Edinburgh, soon after, wth a Sleeveless How d' yee* frō Sr R. Sibbald.

Sep. 15. Saturday. Immediately after dinner, Mr Rutherford (an Episcopal, Ecclesiastical, Laird near Jedburgh) brought me ye last minutes of ye Parliam^t^ of Scotland wth a particular of ye D. of Ham's disgusting ye D. of Athol & ye rest of his old party by's unexpected moveing for ye Queen's nameing Comm^rs^ for ye Union. He also enquires whether a new M^r^ procur'd at Lowther to teach French? The Question to be answer'd on Munday. Soon after came Mr Lermouth frō Drumfriese, to look after his Share of L^d^ Th's Charity; and carry'd off 8^lb^ 10^s^. He left wth me ye Petion of ye min^rs^ of Hawick, Saltoun, & Aberladie, given in to ye Gen^ll^ Assembly (on ye 29 of March last) ag^t^ ye imposeing of New Oaths by ye Presbyteries & Synods of Scotland, w^thout^ warrant of Law; wth y^ir^ protestation annex'd. — Mr Rutherford gave me also a melancholic Acc^t^ of ye M. of Anandale's haveing (in the close of last week) been ye onely person of four, y^t^ surviv'd a drinking Frolick; the E. of March, Gen^ll^ Ramsay and Mr Stote of Northumberland, haveing fallen in ye Engagement.

„ 17. Munday. Mr John Rutherford (cousin German to Philiphaugh, Lord Clerk Register) came early to enquire for an Answer frō Lowther; which I had in Readiness for him, and was much to his satisfaction. He was acquainted wth ye M. of Hartford at Utrecht; and looks upon him as the most promiseing young Nobleman y^t^ he knowes, haveing a ready Elocution & speaking French, High and Low Dutch, &c. Ld Buckhurst for more Liberty. At ye Court of Han^r^ a prospect of Accomodation of the Breach 'twixt ye Elector and Electoress;† whose Innocence (& that she was impos'd on by the Dutchess of Plattenburg) is generally believ'd, & that our Jacobites in England have had a great hand in blackening her. At our parting, I presented wth a copy (ill bound by Mr Railton) of the Border-Laws; which he saies, are now sold in Edinburgh at 8^s^.

„ 22. Saturday. At Dinner Dr Todd; who (before and after) stated his case & his curate's in ye Audience of ye two

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* "Sleeveless" is said to be a word still (or lately) used in Cheshire, meaning "shiftless, useless, careless, untidy." I suppose, therefore, that "a sleeveless how d'yee" must mean "a carelessly written letter asking how we were."

† Sophia Dorothea of Celle, married 1682 to the Elector of Hanover, afterwards George I. She was accused of an intrigue with Count Philip of Königsmark, who was murdered 1694; and was kept a prisoner till her death in 1726.

Archdeacons. Both of 'em were satisfy'd that he had misrepresented it to ye AB of Y. Agreed that (in Justification of ye Ordinary's power) Mr Paton officiate again as Curate, till ye end of October; and then, for his misbehaviour towards ye D^r^, to be remov'd frō Penrith.

Mr Lewthwait (hardly) pass'd for priest's Orders, & Mr Breeks (scandalously ignorant) refus'd, but Mr Robinson, wth caution and Reprimand, well qualify'd for a Deacon. Mem. Dr Donn's Treatise de transferendâ not particulâ sc. by takeing it out of ye Commandments, & putting it into ye Creed; w^ch^, he said, would reconcile all sects.

Sep. 24. Munday. H. and Jos. Henderson, begging y^t^ John Oliphant (wth him) might attend me to London, to secure him frō being press'd. I gave him a certificate.

,, 27. Thursday. My Aunt Hannah,* wth her Son Smith and grandchild Goldsmith; the former for any preferm^t^ (difficult to be had) with which he may live at home, & the latter for a Petty-School & Office of a parish Clerk (at Aikton, or elsewhere) united.

Oct. 8. Munday. Mr Railton, y^e^ Apothecary, came to let me blood = But comeing after Dinner, he found me too warm; and deferr'd it till tomorrow morning.

,, 9. Tuesday. I was blooded in the morning, on y^e^ left arm, by Mr Railton y^e^ Apothecary; who thought my Blood a little Inflamed. I bled so freely, y^t^ y^e^ Orifice was not easily stop'd.

,, 15. Munday. I set out from Rose (accompany'd wth Mr A. D. Fleming, Mr Benson, Mr R. Aglionby, B^r^ John, B^r^ Carlile &c) for London. Some of ye Company leaveing us at Hudfit, I call'd at Millrigg; where I found Mr Dalston & his Bride treating y^ir^ friends (Sr R. Sandford, Mr Vane, Mr Sandford of Askham, &c.) very sumptuously. By Kirkbythore to Appleby; where Mr Lamb satisfy'd me of ye Justice of his claim to the Vicarage-Tithes at Rutter.

,, 16. Tuesday. The weather continueing stormy, Mr Benson & brother John return'd from Sandford-Moor; & Dr Fleming and his brother ye AD^n^ brought us as far as Brough: whence (with my Fellow-Travellers, Mr Christopherson, my Nephew Chambers and Robt Eaglesfield) I got y^t^ night, somewhat late to Richmond. Visitted ye next morning by Cous. Mary Senhouse; newly remov'd hither, from Manchester, by my Assistance.

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* I can find no information concerning "my Aunt Hannah."

Oct. 17. Wednesday. Onely to Burrough-Bridge; where Coll. Fletcher overtook us. The Lord Commr of Scotland (D. of Argyle) and ye Marq. of Anandale had laid there, wthout Visit. just before.

,, 18. Thursday. To Doncaster: where we happed into ye same Inn (the three Cranes) with ye young Ld Morpeth and Mr Ch. Howard of Greystock; on whom I waited evening & morning. A great Throng of commoners (Sr R. Eden, Sr W. Bowes, Sr W. Robinson, Mr Aislaby and Mr Carr) at the George.

,, 19. That night to Glentham, a little Village in Lincolnshire; where our drunken Landlord (Mr Johnson formerly a servt to Coll. Byerley) treated us wth ye History of his own misfortunes & those of his neighbour (& companion) Squire Tournay.

,, 20. Saturday. In a mist, & much about, we came (abt three in ye Afternoon) to Horncastle:* where five or six clergymen prepareing to ride out to meet us. One of these, Mr Chapman, shew'd me the Remains of the old Castle-Walls; wch formerly encompass'd a plott of Ground of about twenty Acres. The Soke of Horncastle comprehends twelve several Villages, besides ye mercate-Town; wch are all reputed so many several parishes. Some Lands are lost from ye mannr House by Bishop Snowden's Son and his Heirs; who had the Lease, and also some Freehold-Houses in the Town. Qu.

,, 21. Sunday. I preach'd for Dr Loddington; and had a surprizeing compliment (wch I would not admit of in ye Afternoon) paid me by two Apparitors; who, as yir custome is to do when yr own Bishop or Archdeacon comes to ye place, walk'd bare before me to ye church wth white Staves in their Hands. The Fabrick of the Church & Quire in good condition: But no monumts of any of ye Bps of Carlile.

,, 22. Munday. I din'd with Mr Ward at Mareham-super-montem or Maryn-Chapple; of which he is now the Lessee, and serves the Cure (wth two more) himself. Here I seal'd two Leases to Tho. Eastgate, & one to (a hard Bargainer) Mr Kelham. Hence, after Dinner, to Mareham on ye Fenn by ye way of Moorby; where ye Churches & Houses cover'd

* The rectory and manor of Horncastle had been appropriated to the See of Carlisle about A.D. 1318, in consequence of the ravages of Cumberland by the Scots. The advowson remained with the Bishops of Carlisle till Bishop Goodwin exchanged it for the advowsons of some livings in the Carlisle Diocese.

wth Rushes. At Mareham, a good Ring of Bells; and both ye Church & Parsonage-House in good condition. On the outside of ye South-wall of ye Quire is a pourtraicture in Stone, ye Head whereof (young & miter'd) is struck off and to be seen w^th^in; under wch are three Coats of Arms, ye first whereof bears three Roses and two Bends, ye next a Cross (but w^th^out a mitre) like y^t^ of the See of Carlile, and the Third a Lion Passant. From hence Mr Francis was our kind Guide (for 10 miles cross ye Fenns) to Boston; where we found ye Town in an Uproar, ye Spring-Tide (thro' ye greedy Carelessness of a Workman in mending one of their Gates) haveing broken throw y^ir^ Banks, and laid a great part of ye neighbouring Countrey under water. A Commission of Sewers sat all night; and ye Drums &c hardly ever ceas'd.

Here follows an account of the church at Boston. The Bishop describes his journey by Crowland, Peterborough, Huntingdon, and Caxton, where two of his companions left him for Cambridge.

Oct. 26. Friday. By Ware, Cheston, Waltham-Cross, Edmunton, Tottenham, Newington, &c to London; and thence conducted by my brother to Mr Hallet's in Manchester-Court, where I presently found myself so happy as to have Sr W. Fleming for my Neighbour: who presently welcomed me, & appears very brisk in his new Honour.*

„ 27. Saturday. In ye morning I paid my first Duty (after y^t^ to God) to my metropolitan ye AB. of Y and went thence to Mr C. Musgrave's in Swallow-street, but found him not w^th^in!

„ 28. Sunday. Haveing heard a good Sermon frō Mr Dean of Carlile at ye Queen's Chapple (in Defense of Moses and ye prophets) I din'd at B^r^ Joseph's; whence, at night, by Cous. R. Nicolson's home again.

As in former articles, much of the diary in London is omitted, with the account of proceedings in Parliament; and only those parts are printed which are of local or special interest.

* He had just been created a baronet.

Oct. 31. Wednesday. After prayers, ye Address Reported. Sr W. Fleming (not in hast for Wedlock) din'd and spent ye evening wth Capt. Studholme,* a mighty collector of Bibles &c.

Nov. 1. NB. I had this day a great deal of Discourse (in ye House) wth Ld Somners, about our Records. He assur'd me y^t^, before he was Ld Chancellour, there were no Treaties Register'd in Chancery after that for Dunkirk; which ye French King, or some others concern'd in y^t^ matter at home, had taken care to have very particularly inroll'd: That, on the Treaty of Reswick, no precedents could be found in ye paper-office wherein our Kings had ye Title of France allow'd: That Sr Jos. Williamson was treated with, a little before his death, to transmit his Books & papers into y^t^ Office; wch he promis'd, but did not perform.

„ 4. Sunday. At ye Queen's Chappel Dr Stanhop, D^n^ of Canterbury, preach'd on (a p^t^ of ye Gospel for ye Day) forgiveing of private Trespasses; proportioning 1000 Talents to 100 pence at the difference of 600,000 to one. Her Ma^ty^ rec^d^ ye Sacram^t^ after ye two Archbishops & five Bishops had it given 'em in both kinds, frō the Dean of ye Chappel: And ye Organ & Voices† assisted (before consecration) at Holy, Holy, &c, and (after the Administration) at the Gloria in excelsis. To Dinner at ye AB of Y's where also Dr Bentley and Mr Laughton; the latter a hearty Defender of Mr Hoadley's Sermon at ye late election of ye Ld Mayor, Dr B. much for an Incorporated Union of both Scotland & Ireland wth England; foretelling that, w^thout^ this, we should (in 50 years time) see one Independent King at Edinburgh, and another in Dublin. Absit.

„ 8. Thursday. The House adjourn'd, and Dinner over, I went to view B^r^ Jos's Dispensations for Dioscordium and Venice-Treacle. The chief of ye many Ingredients, Beaver's Codds, cakes of Saffron, English Vipers or Adders, two Skinks or fine Lizzards, Agorick, &c. Thence to Dr Waugh's Barrel of Oysters.

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* Probably the same person as "Coll. Studholme" (December 13th) and "Cousin Studholme" (December 14th); but how related to the Bishop I cannot say. He is mentioned November 19th, 1707, and again January 22nd, 170$\frac{7}{8}$, as wishing to be M.P. for Carlisle. Cuthbert and Michael Studholme were persons of note on the Puritan side in Carlisle during the Civil Wars; and a family of the name were of Steps and Hole House, in the parish of Thursby, through the greater part of the eighteenth century.

† This seems to indicate that choral celebrations of Holy Communion were at that time very uncommon, though not quite unknown.

Nov. 9. Friday. I went, wth Mr Dean of Wells, to Kensington: where, after prayers were ended and ye Queen had touch'd four children for ye Evil,* I Kiss'd Her Majesty's hand. She was pleas'd to enquire what weather & Roads I met with in comeing to Town &c. Afterwards, I waited on ye prince; who healthy and pleasant beyond w^t^ I expected. When we came, we found his Highness on Horseback; and ye Queen in Her Chaise. Haveing spent two Hours in walking about ye fine Garden, Wilderness & Green-House, I din'd wth Mr Dean and (one of ye Dressers) Mrs Cowper: And, returning by Coll. Graham's got to my own Lodgeings ab^t^ nine.

NB. The Queen's Dressing-Room hung wth Needlework, in Satin, of ye late Queen's ordering (& joynt assistance) by Dutch women: And ye great Gallery stored with excellent pictures. The whole much Superiour to ye palace at St James's.

„ 10. Saturday. M^r^ Le Neve kindly call'd on me in the morning; and carry'd me to ye Tally-office in the Exchequer: where he shew'd me several Bundles of antient Fines & Recoveries in ye Counties of Cumberland & Westmerland (sent in hither frō ye King's Bench &c) wch may of great use in ye History of my Diocese. The H. of Lords not sitting, I went to dine at Lambeth; where I found ye AB of Dublin† (thought by every body to be strangely paradoxical & a little craz'd) ye B^p^ of Chichester, Sr H. Ashhurst, Sr Isaac Newton, Dr Bentley, Dr Mandevil, &c. After Dinner, Dr Gibson & I withdrew to his House frō Dr Sydel's chamber: And thence, being furnish'd wth a Cloak, I had a rough passage to Manchester-Court. I call'd on Sr W. Fleming; who had been visitted, for an hour & half before, by ye great E. of Portland.

„ 12. Munday. In the morning; visitted by Tho Hall, turn'd Brandy-merchant; Cous. Jos. Briscoe, as poor as ever; Mr Dean of Carlile, kindly dispos'd towards Mr Whittingdale. . . . . The Evening spent at B^r^ Jos's im Cartensp.

„ 13. Tuesday. An Early Visit frō Cousin Bridget Nicolson; who in eager hast for his son Fetherston's promotion. My Godson Charles, she saies, is now in ye Straits; and bids fair for being Mate to a Barbadoe's merchant-man.

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* See the diary, July 14th, 1684.

† William King, born 1650; Dean of St. Patrick's, 1688; Bishop of Derry, 1690 or 1691; Archbishop of Dublin, 1702 or 1703; died 1729. He was author of works on the "Origin of Evil," on "Predestination," and on "Freewill."

It. Mr Dean of Carlile, half in a passion abt ye Vice Dn and Chapter's presenting to Sowerby.

Nov. 14. Wednesday. Mr Dean of Wells & I din'd wth Coll. Grahme (still fond of his eldest son) and, after Attempts to visit ye Dean of Salisbury &c, spent the evening, wth Br Jos, at ye Greyhound.

„ 15. Thursday. In ye morning, at Whitehall, at ye Committee for Q. Ann's Bounty; where Dr Ed. Brown bound for Mr Tennison the Treasurer, & 100lb order'd to Mr Chamberlaine. The B. of Sarum's acct of the dull head of Genll Monk; who wd have his Son Kit instructed no farther than to make Speeches in Parliamt.

Dr Gibson undertakes ye drawing up of a protestation for our Chapter, agt Dn Atterbury's Constituteing a Vicegerent.

Sr W. Fleming's visit frō 10 till 12 at night. His gt respect for Lady Thanet.

„ 16. Friday. Early in ye morning pester'd with Mrs Donning;* whom I was forced to turn off in a passion. Coll. Grahme, ye D. of Wells & I din'd with Mr C. M. with wm I stay'd on till Dr Lancaster & Dr Alston came (wth Mr Lake) for evening-work; which continued, very pleasantly by Dr A. till near 12 at night. NB The prsent Ld Keeper's† being led thro' Chancery-Lane by a Farmer in Kent.

„ 17. Saturday. In ye morning, I walk'd to Kensington wth my modest kinsman Tho. Pearson; who is well pleas'd wth his Curacy at Oxenden-Chapple. Haveing treated him at Dinner; I fell upon my dispatches: And Dr Gibson came in luckily wth an Acct yt ye Form of Protestation & Appeal was ready. I presently sent for it to Drs Commons; & haveing transcribed it, sent ye Original to our Vicedean.

„ 19. Munday. I waited on Lady Lonsdale, wth my thoughts of ye person sent to me for French-master at Lowther; who (wanting Greek) is not qualify'd to answer my late Lord's Directions, in teaching Alternately wth Mr Lodge: And my Lady scrupulously adheres to her deceas'd Lord's Rules.

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* Mrs Jane Donning (also called by the Bishop "Dunhall" and "Dunhil") was a sister of Sir Wilfrid Lawson. She is mentioned in Nichols, pp. 407, 408; and in the diary, October 27th, November 7th, 22nd, and 28th, 1704; August 7th, 1706; February 21st, 170$\frac{6}{7}$. She seems to have been a troublesome and unreasonable person.

† Just before the meeting of Parliament, Sir Nathan Wright had been dismissed from the custody of the Great Seal, which was transferred with the same office of Lord Keeper to Sir William Cowper, afterwards Earl Cowper. He had taken office on October 11th, 1705.—Stanhope's *History of Queen Anne*, p. 204.

Sr J. Wentworth wishes, as I do, y^t ye Masters might have separate Tasks.

Nov. 20. Tuesday. In ye morning, I waited on ye AB of Y. with ye papers relateing to ye controversy 'twixt our Dean and Chapter; which satisfy'd His Gr. y^t ye matter had been misrepresented to him. He intimated y^t Mr Dean insisted on ye 33 Hen. 8. Cap. 27. whence he would (incongruously) inferr y^t ye Common-Law p^rsumes ye Dean's consent necessary in all Grants.

„ 27. Tuesday. Morning Mr Rook wth a Letter frō Mr How of Carlile; desireing ye Removeal of ye p^rsent Schoolm^r,* or a new one Licens'd. Cous. Jos. Briscoe; starveing for want of a place in Chelsea.

„ 30. This day, being the chief Anniversary Day of Meeting of the Royal Society, I had the Honour to be named one of their members; being propos'd (without any Allowance or Consent of my own) by, my friend Dr Woodward. Je vous remercy.

Dec. 5. Wednesday. Haveing procur'd a Skin of Stamp'd parchm^t I was goeing to Ingross my Commission for Mr Whittingdale's Collation to Sowerby; when Mr Rook came to me, offering to ease me of y^t trouble. Agreed. I went wth him to Mr Chamberlain's; to enquire after Dr Aglionby's Circumstances: But found him not at home. The House not sitting today, I went (after Dinner) to Gresham-College: where I happily found ye Royal Society met, and had a lucky Opportunity of being admitted a Fellow by (ye president) Sr Isaac Newton. A Letter was read, by Dr Sloan, the Secretary, from a Chirurgeon at Harwich, giveing an Acc^t of an extraordinary involution of ye Gutts; wch occasion'd such an Invincible Stoppage, y^t ye patient had not a Stool in Seven months before his Death. A Livonian Bible in 4to (printed at Riga in 1687) was presented, from a member resideing in those parts. Dr Cockburn gave in a Discourse of his own, touching the weight of Humane Blood; and ye proportioning of Medecines according to ye different gravity of that in Several Bodies. This was order'd to be publish'd in ye next monthly Transactions. These matters being

* John Stephenson had been appointed master of the Cathedral School, June 23rd, 1704. Other complaints against him are mentioned April 2nd, 1706. He resigned in 1710 on a pension of £4 a year, after a Visitation at which the reply of the Dean and Chapter as to his competency had been unsatisfactory. He is mentioned again January 18th, $17\frac{10}{11}$.

over, y^e^ president & Fellows remov'd into y^e^ adjoyning Gallery; where Mr Hawkesby, who had formerly entertain'd y^m^ wth y^e^ raining of Fire (in his Air-pump) and some other curious experiments on mercury, now shew'd 'em as odd phænomena in strikeing fire in vacuo. Before any Air was drawn out, the Sparks were numerous and flameing; when half of ye Air was gone, they were of a deep fiery (red) colour; and when all was drawn out, none fell frō ye Flint, its Surface onely appearing bright & enlightened. I had forgotten Mr Pettiver's petrifactions, in ye Liver of an Oxe; wch were p^r^sented in ye other Room. They had ye Appearance of such Sheaths of Stone as are upon the Grass at (& near) the petrifying Well at Knaresbrough. — Before I waited on the Society, I met w^th^ (at Dr Woodward's Lodgeings) Mr Hutchinson, ye D. of Somerset's master of the mines; who saies he has run Black-Lead (by it self, refuseing ye Assistance of all Fluxes) into a hard mettal, sui generis, like Steel. This, he saies, is now a dear Commodity; worth 20^s^ *p* pound in London. He also discover'd fine Fern-Slatt at ye far end of Bransty-Brow (w^th^in Seamark) near Whitehaven; which, he saies, Dr Smart can also shew me. He got a deal of Letters frō old Mrs Heckstetter* at Keswick; and ye Duke himself has ye Book, of y^ir^ Accounts and clearings, which was formerly in Mr Aglionby's possession. — Dr Woodward shew'd us samples of several Fossils sent to him from ye East Indies; most of which (as ye Cubical golden pyrites, Mica Aurea, Spars of several kinds &c.) were of the same kinds and faces with those that are found in England; and the onely Rarity was a sort of red Arsenick, solid & ponderous. — Mr H. Worsley gave us the History of the Cheat of ye Monks (or Grecian priests) at Jerusalem; & their bringing of Fire frō heaven for ye sanctifying of the Torches wherewith ye holy Shirts are mark'd. Mr Mandrel's Travels thither have nothing in 'em extraordinary; but many borrow'd Acc^ts^ wch are false.

Dec. 7. Friday. Visitted in ye morning by Mr Dean of Carlile, Dr Kennett, Dr Gibson, Mr Smith, Mr Tho. Pearson and Mr Hutchinson. It. Mr R. Musgrave brought to me Mr Charles Porter, a convert frō Popery. Mr Dean and I adjourn'd to my Lord of York's; where we debated ye Controversy in

* See an article on "Mines and Miners at Keswick" in the C. & W. *Transactions*, vol. vi., p. 344; and compare the diary July 25th, 1702.

Chapter before His Grace. The Dean produced several precedents (out of ye Chapter-Books) of such Proxies as he had granted to Dr Todd; but, in conclusion, offer'd to draw ye case fairly & referr it to any counsel. Haveing dined with His Grace, and finding Dr K. & Dr G. who had stay'd for me till now, otherwise engaged, I took water at Whitehall and went (thro' ye Bridge, at high water) to ye Lime-Kilns in Southwark, over against ye Tower; where I purchas'd some form'd stones of the women who (at 1^d^ for 16 little baskets) chop ye chalk and bear it up stairs to ye Kilns. I presently return'd ye same way; not without Jealousy of haveing catch'd a cold.

Dec. 8. Saturday. This Evening ye Tide (driven in by a strong Easterly wind, & meeting wth Floods of fresh water from above) overflow'd all ye lower Streets of Westminster, ye Hall & Palace-yards, to such a heighth as could not be remember'd.

„ 9. Sunday. Haveing din'd at my Brother's (as once before) wth Dr Beaufort's Tory wife, I went to Christen Cous. James Nicolson's son Joseph; my brother Jos. and Mr Kensey Chirurgeon being Godfathers. W^n^ I got home I found my man James very drunk; abus'd by my brother's Beau Apprentice.

„ 10. Munday. I went to Lambeth; wth an Intent to visit Mrs Gibson, who will not be church'd before Wednesday. Dr Gibson carry'd me to Mr Snow's chamber, whither Dr Waugh and Dr Sydel came to us. We were all too few to cure ye old Gentleman's Hyp'. AB. Sheldon knew ye Secret of K. Ch. ye Second's Religion; expressing it to Dr Spencer in this melancholy sentence—we must fly; but whither shall we fly? This rais'd ye D^r's^ Curiosity, to make farther enquiry; but had no other Information at y^t^ time, save onely (that saying of Pliny) periculossissimus morbus, qui a capite diffunditur. Sr Edmund King being Knighted for alleviateing ye King's first Fitt of his Apoplexy, Fleetw^d^ Shepherd wrote under his picture:

> This D^r's^ skill may surely be rely'd on,
> who cur'd ye K^g^ of ye Disease he dy'd on.

„ 13. Thursday. Early visitted by Coll Studholme; who heartily in ye Whig-Church-Interest, as he calls it. As soon as he had invited me to ye eating of his Cygnet, came in Major Orfeur; newly return'd from Barcelona. He gives a sorry

Acc^{t} of ye Rashness, &c of ye E. of P. under whose Conduct no Englishman (at Land or Sea) will be any more desireous to engage. S^{r} Cl. Shovel sick of him. The Garrison were all prisoners, to the Burghers, when our men enter'd the Town.

Dr Gibson dineing wth me, Mr Loste* (a Frenchman) came frō Lady Lonsdale to be examin'd for ye School at Lowther. — An Invitation to Mrs Gregson's Funeral to-morrow.

Dec. 14. Friday. In ye morning Mr Dean of Carlisle repeated his Invitation for Tuesday next; & saies ye Universities are offended at ye B. of Ely's moveing for y^{ir} being visitted by the Queen. Esto! The work unfinish'd in ye House, I went to dine with Cous. Studholme; where was also Mr R. Tolson, my old Schoolfellow, who full of philosophy on ye Deluge, pre-Adamites &c. Thence to my Brother's; & adjourn'd to Dr Beaufort's Lodgeings, im Cartenspiel till after Eleven.

,, 15. Saturday. I waited on my Lord of Cant. to dinner at Lambeth; where were also ye B^{p} of Hereford, Dean of Lincoln, Mr Jervaise and Mr H. Worsley (of ye H. of Commons) Dr Covel, &c. Mr W. & Dr C. agreed y^{t} Moses coasted ye Red Sea; haveing gone into't, and out again, on ye Asian side: And the former saies he was three dayes in goeing up to Mount Sinai (in Arabia Petræa) where he lodg'd, and had thence ye most delightful prospect in ye world.

,, 17. Munday. Morning — Visitants, Mr Dean of Carlile; fixing me for dineing with him tomorrow. After attendance on ye Committee for Naturalization, and half of an Appeal in ye House, I accompany'd L. Lonsdale to ye AB. of C's barge; and to dine wth His Grace. Here I met wth (ye first time I had seen him) Coll. Francis Nicolson,† Govern^{r} of Virginia; who saies ye late Description of that Countrey was written by (his back-friend) Mr Blair, too much favour'd by y^{e} B. of London; that y^{e} Judas-Trees or Red-Buds, are a common

* Frequently mentioned afterwards. He was teacher to the Lowther family. He was admitted to Holy Orders, and became rector of Lowth 17$\frac{1}{12}$.

† Francis Nicholson was born 1660, was Lieutenant-Governor of the Colonies North of Chesapeake Bay, 1686; of Virginia, 1690; of Maryland, 1694; of Virginia again, 1689; recalled, 1705. He afterwards served again against Canada, and was Governor of South Carolina. He was knighted 1720, and died in London 1728 He is described in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as "a Churchman, a Tory, and a rake," "passionate, high-handed, and a loose liver."

Shrub; they have no Cabbage-Tree; the Bears make good bacon; &c. He has been much on ye coasts of Africa, and in Spain; and saies y^t^ at Toledo ye Water is drawn frō ye Tagus to ye top of ye high Rock on wch that City stands, & y^t^ Sr Sam. Morland had thence his Device of drawing it up (in like manner) from ye Thames to ye Castle of Windsor. Haveing landed my Ld Lonsdale at Whitehall, I went to enquire for ye Chanc^r's^ brothers; and spent ye evening with them and their Club, of Northern friends, at the Globe. The Alderman* as vain in his aery promises of Golden mountains out of y^ir^ Coalery in ye County of Durham, as ever.

Dec. 18. Tuesday. I went (together wth Dr Deering and Mr Richardson) home to Chelsea, wth Mr Dean of Carlile; who treated us very decently at Dinner. He lives in a pretty Box, wth good Gardens; & shew'd us a neat & well-furnish'd Study, wherein ye Drawers under his Books &c were mighty convenient.

,, 20. Thursday. I went to dine with Mr C. M. not well; who had ye matter of my granting a patent to R. A.† most villanously represented, as my being secretly in Interests ag^t^ him. Here I met wth young Sr Chris^r^ a perfect Smoaker.

,, 21. Friday. Ld Dartmouth's Rec^t^ of a present from a West-Indian King, to Her Majesty, in Return for a Bible sent to Him by K. Charles ye 2^d^. 'Tis a Tobacco-Pipe; which, he saies, came from ye Gods; and wherein he prayes y^t^ Her Majesty may Smoak in ye Great Hunting Room of ye Gods above. It. S^r^ Ch. Hara's little son taught (by Sr W. Clargis) to watch for ye B. of S^s^ vaulting over ye Pulpit.

,, 23. Sunday. Visitted at night by Ld Lonsdale and Sr John Wentworth; who brought me the ill news of the death of (my Sister Rothery's Charge) Mr Thynne's onely Son. Sr John is now reading Mr Beaumont's Book of Apparitions; a subject wherein he's not over credulous: But tells a Remarkable Story of his Uncle Wentworth's voice being heard calling his Steward (Ned, Ned, Ned,) some hours after he was dead at above 30 miles distance. R. Threlkeld willing (in gratitude) to hold Lowther in commendam wth Aiketon.

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* Isaac Tullie was an alderman of London. He lived at Highgate (diary, January 1st, 170$\frac{4}{5}$), but his business was in Covent Garden (February 16th, 170$\frac{7}{8}$). His brothers Philip and William Tullie lived in Hatton Garden.

† See January 2nd, 170$\frac{8}{9}$.

Dec. 29. Saturday. Mr M. Hutchinson wth me in ye morning; & after a walk thro' ye Park, we drank a glass of mead together: And then I went (as promis'd) to dine wth Mr W. Tullie. Here, as at Mr Philip's, we had ye Company of Sr Wm Bowes and ye rest of Mr Chancr's Relations; as also that of Mr Bray (Burgess for Tewkesbury) Brother in Law to Mr Isaac Tullie, an ingenious and honest young gentleman. Comeing before ye rest, I had ye Advantage of being Instructed by ye Lady of ye House in the price of China-Dishes &c, as a stand of half a dozen of ye finest Tea-dishes & Sawcers (at 18d each) 18s. Japan'd Iron-kettle, with Lamp & Stand, 30s. The four Seasons of ye year finely carved in Alabaster (easily cleans'd wth a brush & Lather of good Soap) 40s. — At my Return to my Lodgeings, I found yt I had been enquired for by Sr Ph. Sydenham, Mr C. Musgrave, Dr Waugh, Dr Woodward &c. There was also left for me (by Mr G. Holmes) the whole process on ye Tryal of Bp Merks.

„ 30. Sunday. In ye evening (haveing dined at home) I went wth Mr Chamberlayne, to meet the AB. of Dublin at the Gray-coat-Hospital in Tothill-fields, Westminster; his Grace and I haveing promis'd to preach yir two next Anniversary Sermons on this day fort'night. We were present, wth great Numbers of ye Neighbourhood, at yir usual Sunday-night's Exercise; which began wth two Collects (prevent us O Ld &c and O God who has caused all holy Scriptures &c) and a Chapter read by one of the Boyes. This was follow'd by a psalm sung. Then ye Master examin'd twelve of ye Girls throughout ye Church-Catechism; and six of the Boyes in an Introductory Explanation of ye English Liturgy. This done, there was another psalm sung and an Anthemn; & then (concludeing wth an Evening Ditty in verse, and two or three Collects) ye Children sat down to yir Suppers of bak'd pudding.

The twentieth volume of the diaries extends from January 1st to March 24th, $170\frac{5}{6}$. It relates to the remainder of the Bishop's stay in London (chiefly to proceedings in Parliament), and his return to Rose Castle. It does not contain much of interest for my present purpose, and only a few extracts are here given.

1705.

Jan. 1. Tuesday. Clients, at my Levee, of several sorts; as first, Mr Ch. Buchanan & Susan Orfeur, private petitioners; Dr Deering, wth ye compliments of ye Day; Mr James Lowther, with certificates against ye intended port of Parton; Mr James Tyrrel, in an uneasy wrath at Mr Atwood; and Mr G. Holmes, as impatient to know when the Lords Committees will visit ye Tower. These over, I went to St James's; to pay my own Duty (wth ye rest of the Bishops) to ye Queen. When Her Majty was gone to prayers, ye AB of Cant. and ye rest of ye Bench (ye AB of York & Bp of Durham onely excepted) went to the prince's Bedchamber; and there waited (His Highness being at his own Devotions) till ye Chapple-prayers were done, before they had an opportunity of makeing yir Honrs. This was certainly all wrong: since this part of ye ceremony shd have given place to ye Divine Service of ye Day. NB. The Dean of Lincoln (Dr Willis, a true courtier) was ye onely person, of his character, that I saw in either of ye Drawing-Rooms.

„ 2. Wednesday. In the morning visitted by Mr Patrickson* (strangely broken) and Mr Leicester late Surveyr of Excise; the former solliciteing my countenanceing of ye latter, in his Aim at a Foot-Company, and thanking me for my (late) underserv'd Favour to his Son-in-Law R. A. It. Roger Briscoe, sent by (Cous. Gilpin) to Mr James Lowther; in expectance of, he knowes not what, preferm t. It. Ch. Porter, another seeker, but in a more discourageing prospect. — Parting wth these, I took coach and went to Dr Hickes; whom I found hard at's pen in his Study, and was afterwards told (by Mr Grandorge) that he's upon answering Mr Dodwel's new project for healing the Schism. Our Discourse was chiefly on ye genuine Cædmon & Mr Wanley's Specimen of it out of the Bp of Norwich's Manuscript, wch (being much Danish) ought not to be believ'd (I think) to have been penn'd in Northumberland before ye Danes came over; of ye old Swedish Laws, whereof Sr

* This must be Richard Patrickson, of Calder Abbey, High Sheriff 1672. His sister was wife of John Aglionby, the Recorder. According to the Rev. A. G. Loftie's *History of Calder Abbey*, Richard Patrickson had two daughters. It would appear from this passage that one of them must have married Richard Aglionby, the Registrar.—See December 20th, 1705. Richard Patrickson had mortgaged his estate at Calder Abbey in 1695, 1697, and 1701; and in 1715 his son Richard sold his rights in it for £40, so that it must have been mortgaged very nearly up to its full value.

Tho. Parker and Dr Sloan have procur'd Copies; of ye Hetruscan Inscriptions, in ye Arundel-Library, and ye Dr's late (much abused) Letter thereon in ye Transactions; the E. of Warrington's wanting his Book, tho' one of ye first that paid his 5 Guinneas; &c. — From hence to dine with Ld Thanet; whom I found kind & cheerful. His Lordship seems resolv'd to continue his Charity in Scotland; but will not be prevail'd on to promise any Abatements to poor Mr Wickins, whose singular Respects to Sr R. T. (at ye last election) are ō forgotten. Sr C. M. pretended a Grant, of the Common now in Controversy, from Lady Pembroke; but his Grandson (& his Guardian) insist onely on a prescription.

Mr Grandorge haveing accompany'd as far as Holburn-Bridge (wh a doleful Acct of his Noe-Hopes from Lambeth, ye Dual 'twixt Ld Th. & D. of N. &c) I went to Cole-man-street, where Cous. Bosworths entertain'd me very kindly; and sent for Mr Ogilby (yr Curate & Lecturer) who pleasant on ye Affairs of ye antient Kingdome, blind Dr Lucas's Horsemanship & playing at Tables &c.

Jan. 3. Thursday. In ye morning, I made a fruitless journey (wth Mr Dale, full of Heraldry & Records, and Cous. Rog. Briscoe) to Mr Lowther's Chamber in ye Temple; whence I returned quietly to my lodgeings, wth my Swoln Neck, and had onely the Company of Mr Tho. Brougham and his Br John in ye evening.

,, 4. Friday. Confin'd wth the Anniversay Bile in my neck; but much reliev'd with the Conversation of (my worthy & kind friend) Dr Gibson, who agrees wth ye Reporters yt the Dean of Peterburgh* stands fair for ye next small Bprick. I gave him a copy of D. Atterbury's Dispensation; and, upon or Talk of a Royal Visitation's breaking in upon ye Ordinary, he inform'd me that ye Case of Exeter-College was at large in Sr Barth. Shower's Reports frō ye H. of Lords. He also gave me an obligeing History of their good Set of Register-Books (all in Vellum) from the dayes of AB Peckham; with very few Chasms. We had new occasion joyntly to bemoan the want of a Formulare Ecclesiasticum; which betrays our prsent Bps into very lame Acts. In ye evening, Mr Dowson (one of Mr C. M.'s Under Clerks in ye Ordnance) shew'd me ye State of ye Train of Artillery, now

* Sir William Dawes, Bishop of Chester, 1708; Archbishop of York, 1714; died, 1728.

fitting out for ye Attendance of 12000 men design'd for Catalonia, with the pay of all the officers and others therein employ'd for the year ensueing; which, in the whole amounted to 34030lb 10s 8d.

Jan. 14. The B. of Linc. this day told me yt his own wife (Mrs Wake, wth her sister & brother-in-Law) was carry'd by Mr W. Chafinch* into a dark Chapple of K. Ch. ye 11. soon after yt prince's death, into which there was a privy-door out of his Closet; and in which they saw a popish Altar, & all sorts of priests' vestmts, and were assur'd that here (for many years) he had assisted at Mass so privately, yt Mr Ch. himself knew nothing of ye matter till after he was dead. — But — He and's son knew of ye Hoord of Gold wch was in his Closet — wch ye Bp saies amounted to near 100000 Guinneas.

,, 17. In ye Evening (late) I was first visitted by Coll. Fran. Nicolson, Governour of Virginia, wch countrey (he saies) in entire peace & security, none of the Neighbouring Indians being in any condition to disturb its quiet: And, whilst he was with me, Sr Wm Fleming came to take his last Farewell. He proposes to ye Coll. an approv'd way of makeing ye Marines a Fund for Seamen, by Registring & Disbanding 'em every two years; & is justly offended at a late Contract made wth Mr Hutchinson (of Newcastle) and others, by ye Commrs of ye excise, for ye fetching off ye Collections in Cumberland (in Specie) from Penrith.

,, 18. Friday. Whilst Dr Scott was wth me in ye morning (accounting the sums he had in prospect for ye Relief of his distress'd Brethren in Scotland, frō Deans & Chapters, Archdeaconryes, &c, in England) came poor distracted Mr Glaisters; wth a Revelation (as he call'd it) of ye French landed at Southampton &c. — At ye Committee for Records, Mr Tucker brought in a full Catalogue (in a pretty thick Folio-Book) of all matters under his care in ye paper-Office; together with a Schedule of what seem'd to be withdrawn, and in private hands. This latter is to be annex'd to the Address design'd for Her Majesty. Lds Rochester, Sunderland, Anglesey, Stamford, Townesend, Pawlet, Sommers, Hallifax, and B. of Carlisle, adjourn'd to ye Chapter-House in ye Cloister at Westminster; the Roof

* William Chiffinch succeeded his brother Thomas (a much more respectable person) in 1668 as Page of the Bedchamber to Charles II., and Keeper of the King's Private Closet. He was concerned in many disreputable intrigues. He died in 1688. A full and curious account of him is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

and windowes whereof they found in a very ruinous condition. Sr Chr. Wrenn, Surveyour of ye Queen's works, was with us; and was directed to look after ye Speedy Repairs of ye Fabrick. Here are the Leagues & Foreign Treaties, wch Mr Rymer is publishing; as also Term-Reports (out of ye King's Bench and Common pleas) as high as Ed. 2. The Golden Seal and Illuminations of ye old Treaty wth Alphonsus K. of Castile (of which there's a Cutt in Mr R.'s first Volume) is very curious; but the Workmanship of ye Seal is much outdone by ye Golden Box over ye Seal of Francis King of France; which hangs at a beautiful Treaty betwixt ye King and our Hen. ye 8th. Amongst other Rarities, Mr Le Neve shew'd me ye pretended Homage of Malcolm; which has occasion'd ye spoiling of so much paper by Mr Atwood & myself. 'Tis a very rotten and thin piece of parchment; and there lyes, in ye same Box wth it, a fair Seal of Scotland, wth a double Tressure of Flowers de Lis, wch is said to have been drop'd from it. To me it look fresher than ye parchment; and is fasten'd to a hempen string, wch (I think) would sooner have fail'd than yt. However Mr Le Neve will have it to be its proper Seal; & makes this the most certain Demonstration (in his way) of ye Instrument's being a Counterfeit, since ye Scotch Arms were not thus charg'd till long after Malcolm Canmore's time.

My Ld of Canterbury saies he'l shew me a good deal of Roman Medals, in Brass, in his own possession. His Grace (soon after) gave me a large Acct of the Discourses he had lately had about our Dean's Dispensation: which, he thinks, will necessitate his Speedy Removal, & seems intended (by himself) to this purpose; and, in case he leaves us, His Grace repeats ye Assurance of his utmost endeavours for Mr Chancr T.

Jan. 19. Saturday. Cous. B. Nicolson impatient for her son's promotion; and Roger Briscoe despiseing the offer (made him by Mr Musgrave and Mr Lowther) of being Clerk to a Train of Artillery.

,, 26. Saturday. Ld AB. of C. saies he has consulted Ld Sommers on or Dean's Dispensation; and I shall have his Instructions how to proceed upon ye Appeal of ye Chapter. After Dinner I waited on my Lady Lonsdale; where I met wth Mr Loste, a little maudlin (as I suspected) and weeping on ye Remembrance of his Happiness at Geneva. Returning, I had a terrible Fall by a slip down the stairs

frō ye High-Terass in S. Jame's Street; in which my left hand was a little strain'd, but (as yet) I feel no other ill consequence.

Jan. 30. Wednesday. Before we went frō ye House, Sr Richard Holford (M^r^ in Chancery) told me that old Coll. Lewis, yet alive, had assur'd him that he was at Rome w^n^ K. Ch. 1. was beheaded; and some months before ye execrable day of his Martyrdome, was there inform'd (& convinc'd) that ye Conclave had resolv'd on his Death. He likewise assur'd me, by as good Testimony, that (upon ye signification of this) O. Cromwel went to ye Spanish Ambassadour in England; and endeavour'd to perswade him that (w^th^out this bloody method) the Catholic Cause might be better serv'd: But the Reply was onely — He must die He must die. A Third Story he gave me, as well attested, of several Popish priests attending ye King's Scaffold in ye habit of Troopers; the better to enable y^m^ to certify y^t^ ye Romish Sentence was executed.

Feb. 2. Saturday. In the evening, after ye Dispatch of my post-Letters, I got Mr Provost's Recommendation of Jos. Rothery to ye Tuition of Mr Hill; and (at my B^r's^) gave ye boy 40^s^ to bear his Charges to & frō Oxford, this next week.

,, 3. Sunday. I preach'd, & consecrated ye Sacrament, at St Botulph's Aldgate; and had ye company of Mr Gardiner (Sub-dean of Lincoln) at Dinner, Dr Kennett haveing forgotten my promise, & invited him to preach. Dinner being late, I posted down to Sr W. Fleming at ye Bell in Warwick-Lane; and went with him to Christ-Hospital, where ab^t^ 700 boyes are kept at School and 100 Girls, the former being taught Grammar, writeing, Arithmetick, &c. and ye latter Reading, Writeing and plain Work. The Girls lodge all in one Ward (where they also eat) and the Boyes in several; each ward being under the Inspection of an Elderly Matron, who is called its Nurse, and carves out y^ir^ Commons at Table. The Writeing-School (very large, wth five Benches on each side) was built at ye sole expense of Sr John Moor, late Lord Mayor; who is said to have laid out, in his Lifetime, 40,000^lb^ in Charitable Uses. The Mathematical School is also spatious; and adorn'd with Globes, Ships &c. Here ye Queen's Navigation-Lads are instructed; and each of these wears a Silver-Badge on his left side, wth ye pourtraietures of Arithmetic, Geometry and Astronomy. 'Tis among Mr Evelyn's Medals. In ye Common-Hall are two pieces of Fine paint, the one (Signior

Verrio's work) at ye upper end, representing K. Charles ye second, ye Governour, Boyes and Girls &c in their proper Habits; and ye latter K. Edward the sixth (surrounded wth his Nobles) handing out their first Charter to ye Lord Mayor and Aldermen. Mr Brerewood, ye Treasurer entertain'd us wth an Anthemn sung by ye Boyes frō ye Organ-Loft, as soon as Supper was ended: and then we saw the Boyes & Girls go off (in procession, two & two wth yir Nurses & Baskets) to yir respective Apartmts.

Feb. 6. Ash-Wednesday. The Court in mourning for Q. Dowager. The Bp of London preach'd at St James's on ye working out Salvation wth Fear & Trembling; a very meagre Lent-Sermon. The Qu. was at Chappel; but born thither, being lame in the Gowt.

In ye evening, at Dr Nicolson's with Mr Hutchinson and Mr Davis; treated wth Yorkshire-Ale and Devonshire-Cheese.

,, 11. Munday. At ye House, I receiv'd (by the Penny-post)* a Letter subscribed by one who writes his name Tho. Smith, and dated from Leaden-Hall-street; wherein the Writer banters me wth strange matters hatching in ye North, to my dishonour &c. Magna est Veritas, et prævalebit! — In the Evening (after a walk into Hyde Park wth Cous. Tho. Pearson & Mr Holm) at ye D. of Sarum's wth ye D. of Wells & Mr Vaughan: Where ye Story of ye Q's laying aside her Staff, in goeing to Council on Her prdecessor's death, a Certain Cure for ye Gowt, but hard to come by; and Mr Sub-dean Battle's Acct of his being directed to putt his Letters from hence to Rome into the pacquet of Mr Pen,† a Brother of ye Society of the Jesuits.

,, 16. Saturday. The AB. of Canterbury acquainted me wth his Letter of Complaint from Dr Todd; and told me that, he found, another was written to my own Metropolitan: which my Ld of Y. own'd to me; but declin'd the giveing me any satisfactory Light into't.

,, 18. Munday. In ye morning, wth Mr Grisdale & Mr Yates, waiting on ye AB. of York; to set ye Reports of their extortion of parish-Fees in a fair Light. I expected His Grace would have taken Notice to me of Dr Todd's late Letter to him, wth new Complaints; but — ne Gru.‡

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* A penny post for London was first established by private enterprise in 1680 but at this time it had become a branch of the General Post.

† Strange as it may appear to us, W. Penn, the Quaker, was often suspected by his contemporaries of being a Jesuit.

‡ "Not the least bit."

Here follows a long account of the passing through the House of Lords of a Bill concerning the harbour at Parton, unsuccessfully opposed by the Bishop. On March 5th he left London, riding by Dunstable, Leicester, Nottingham, Rotherham, and Leeds.

Mar. 14. Thursday. Stormy weather, snow & sleet, over Stanemore. At Burgh, we found that my brother and Mr Benson had carry'd Mr Thompson to Kirkby-Stephen; in a groundless expectance of our comeing that way from Leeds. We all met together at Appleby; where welcomed by the Bells & a generous Treat from ye Corporation.

„ 15. Friday. Makeing short visits at Long-Marton, Kirkbythore & Millrig, I got safe to Rose, in the Evening; with my two Sons, who broke up for Easter [I found Mr Dalston and Mr Wickins well reconcil'd, by the help of yir good-humor'd wives] Glory to God!

„ 19. Tuesday. Mr Wells of Hesket, with several of ye Inhabitants of Armthwait; who all complain of ye Hardships that are like to come upon them by the Change of their Curate, young Rickarby (under the Influences of his Father) being like to prove as great a Plague to ym as yir late Mr Hodgson. At Dinner, Mr Recorder Aglionby; who seem'd dissatisfy'd with ye Vote (in ye H. of Lords) touching the safety of the Church of England. But, being asked Whether (after the Question was put) he could have judg'd it for ye Church's Interest to give his public Vote (whatever he might think) that it was in Danger, he demurr'd. There din'd also wth us Mr R. Aglionby, Mr W. Rook and Cous. Feth. Nicolson; who were entertain'd by Mr Benson & my Brother, whilst Mr Recr and I were amicably settling the Nation.

„ 20. Wednesday. Prayers appointed for ye public Fast were read in the Chapple: But being passion-week and both Mr Benson and I provideing Sermons on other occasions, we had no preaching.

„ 22. Good-Friday. I preach'd my own Turn in the Cathedral; and had a very throng appearance of Communicants, insomuch as that I was forced to send both for more bread & wine than was provided. After Dinner, the visits I paid were to Mr Langstaff's Family & Mrs Tullie; the Chancr being in Lancashire.

Volume XXI. only contains a few memoranda. Among them are "My Wife's Weekly Bills for half year beg' wth October 1705 and ending wth March 1706." The total for the six months is £64 3s. 8d. The following note is added :—

NB. The Bills of these 6 months are near 15^lb^ higher than those in my absence the winter before; the extraordinaries being in Duties on Malt, Mercer's Goods & Coals.

Volume XXII. begins at Rose Castle, March 25th, 1706; and contains a good deal of local or general interest.

1706.

Mar. 25. Easter Munday. At Dinner, Mr Lowther (of Bowness) accuseing Tho. Lawson of Adultery,* Mr Paton goeing to sue Dr T. for Defamation.

Apr. 2. Tuesday. At Dinner, Mr Walker & Mr Thomlinson. M^r^ AD. proposes, from ye Corporation of Carlisle, the Licensing a new Schoolm^r^.† Agreed; on Certificate, ag^t^ this master, either from ye Chanc^r^ or Chapter.

„ 8. Munday. At Dinner, onely Mr Burrow of Hutton; who saies there's a monum^t^ comeing for Sr G. F. at ye Charge of his Daughter Alice. In ye Afternoon, Mr Threlkeld; desireing (wth Rudeness and Insolence enough) my Intercession to ye Chanc^r^ for a mild Execution of his Sentence from York.‡

„ 11. Thursday. This day the Quakers (near 1000 in number) left Carlile; whither they flock'd in, on Monday last, from all the Northern Counties; some comeing frō Berwick, and others frō Chester &c. A great part of Tuesday was spent in private consults amongst y^ir^ Grandees, who shut the Doors upon 'emselves; but Yesterday public Entertainments were made by a long Succession of y^ir^ Holders forth.

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* See July 12th.

† See note on November 27th, 1705.

‡ Compare May 25th, 1705, and October 12th, 1706. R. Threlkeld was rector of Aikton. A poor account is given of him as "ye Lazy Parson" in Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, pp. 22, 160. A letter to him dated April 18th, 1706, concerning the sentence of the Chancellor of York, is contained in Nichols, p. 295. It does not appear what his offence had been.

Apr. 13. Saturday. Tho. Iveson brought me a large pacquet of Letters and Books from my friends at Edinburgh: who tell me that their General Assembly (now sitting) have debated ab^{t} ye Admission of ye Magnificat, Nunc Dimittis, &c. into y^{ir} worship.

„ 15. Munday. At Dinner, Mr Chanc^{r} desireing me to be present at Mr Threlkeld's submission on Friday next.

„ 16. Tuesday. A stormy Day for ye opening ye commission on ye Treaty of Union. Secundet Deus! The University of Cambridge, Mr Xtopherson tells me, have appointed Dr Snape and three more to go (on Invitation) to the Jubilee or Ludi Sæculares at Francfurt on y^{e} Oder.

„ 17. Wednesday. At Dinner, Mr Story of Kirk-Bampton; complaining that no citation was ever yet issu'd ag^{t} John Cook of Beaumont presented last year (at y^{e} Chanc$^{r's}$ Gen^{ll} Chapter) for Adultery.

„ 19. Friday. I went to Carlile in y^{e} morning; and after prayers, was present in y^{e} Consistory at Mr Threlkeld's Submission to Mr Chanc^{r} which was done with more Decency, than (I believe) any of the numerous Auditory expected. Being entertain'd (wth M^{r} AD^{n}, Mr Xtopherson, Mr Benson & my brother John) at a very neat Dinner by Mr Chanc^{r}, and haveing been again at the Cathedral-prayers in ye Afternoon, I return'd home in the evening.

„ 20. Saturday. Twenty years agoe (this very day) I clos'd the Eyes of my dear Father, in the 63rd year of his Age; to which climax I am now approaching. Do Thou, O L^{d} teach me to consider the number of my dayes; and how short my time is!

— In ye Afternoon, Mr Christopherson left us; & wth him, return'd poor Mr Paton half famish'd.

„ 21. Sunday. I preach'd & read prayers, in ye Chapple; Mr Benson being at High-Head.

„ 22. Munday. At Dinner, Mr Fetherston seeking an Order for ye Quire at Kirk-oswald; and Mr Dickinson, wanting his Salary for Grinsdale.

„ 24. Wednesday. At Dinner, Mr Tolmin (brought in by, his old acquaintance, Mr Townson) ye new curate of Ravenstonedale dureing L^{d} Wh's pleasure; and Mr Thomlinson, desireing leave for all my men-serv^{ts} to drink tokens* wth him in ye evening.

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* "Token—a memorial of friendship."—Johnson's *Dictionary*.

"We'll tak' a cup o' kindness yet,
For auld lang syne."

Apr. 25. Thursday. Afternoon, Mr Grahme of Brackenhill enquireing for the Dean of Wells; whose servt in ye evening, brought me notice of his meeting me tomorrow at Nunnery.

„ 26. Friday. Mr Dean Grahme, AD. Fleming and Mr H. Guy came (somewhat late) to dinner at Mr Aglionby's; where were (over-night) Mr Sandford & Mr Chancr. After a kind entertainmt, and leave taken of ye Family & Mr S. ye Dean &c and I for Rose; and Mr Chancr for Carlile. The Dean a little weary.

„ 29. Munday. Prayers read in ye morning (Mr B. attending ye Chancr's Genll Chapter) by Mr Burrow of Hutton; who loath to return Sr H. F. a reputed P.*

May 1. Wednesday. Rainy but not so dark but that ye Sun's Eclypse might have been easily discern'd (as it was not) had it been so Great as my Almanack represented it.

„ 3. Friday. In ye evening Alr Hewer, jealous of ye Designs of ye Vicar agt his Daughter.

„ 7. Tuesday. Mr Langhorn, in pain for his takeing ye oath of a Churchwarden;† but encourag'd.

„ 8. Wednesday, p.m. To Beaumont (wth Mr Banks, Br John, Mr Benson &c) to adjust seats in ye Church; which divided into 3 parts, Beaumt, Kirkandrews and Cottagers. By Stanwix and Esqr Fairclough's home at 7.

„ 9. Thursday. Mr Sandford and his Brother John, Mr Stainton, Mr Paton, Mr Hunter frō Sedgefield and Geo. Sanderson. Mr S. approves the Design of enlargeing the High walk for a Bowling-Green.

„ 10. Friday, p.m. Mr Blacket an Irish Surgeon, applies for a License.‡

„ 14. W. Tuesday, p.m. Mr Jackson of Bampton,§ with a new Reader for Mardale and complaints about ye Legacy at Swindale: But his true errand to pump for my Inclinations towards Mr Wearing, in case he resigns ye School. I must see ye Donor's will.

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* Compare September 6th, 1705.

† Dr. Todd had nominated as churchwarden of Penrith his curate Joseph Langhorne, licensed 1697 as master of the Grammar School, who was in deacon's orders. The Bishop objected to this, and refused to ordain Langhorne priest till another churchwarden was appointed in his place. See Nichols, pp. 308, 309, 313 to 320.

‡ An Act of Parliament passed in the third year of Henry VIII. gave power to the Bishop of each diocese or his vicar-general to grant licenses in medicine and surgery. Other instances of such licenses will be found in the diary, July 13th, 1711; August 16th, 1711; August 5th, 1713.

§ Mr. Jackson was master of the endowed school at Bampton. Thomas Wearing was vicar of Bampton from 1698 to 1742. Bampton School appears to have had considerable reputation at that time, and candidates for Holy Orders were trained at it. See diary, July 11th; September 4th.

May 17. Friday. Mr AD. Fleming brought three or four candidates for Orders with him from Carlile. Mr Threlkeld, enquireing for directions for ye payment of his York-Fees; and Mr Lowther of Bowness, endeavouring to surprize me into ye bestowing Deacon's orders upon (one Town of C. C. Cambr) an ignorant Rake.

„ 18. Saturday. More Candidates, as many as make up 14 Deacons & 2 Priests.

„ 19. Trinity-Sunday. The fore-mentioned 16 (priests and Deacons) ordain'd at Carlile; where, at Brother Carlile's in ye evening, Mr Mayor, Mr Recorder, and Alderman Ja. Nicolson and How, came and discours'd me abt an Accomodation of matters in ye suit 'twixt ye City & ye Tenants of Dalston, ye latter takeing a Grant of Exemption from ye former, in Order to exclude the men of Linstock &c. I shall propose it.

„ 21. Tuesday. Mr Scott (senr Fellow of Qu. Coll.) at Dinner; on whom Mr Benson, wthout my Leave, attended to Hauxdale, &c. Caveto in posterū.

„ 23. Thursday. Mr B. and my daughter Mal. to meet or friends frō Kendale at Penrith. At Dinner, Mr Thompson (of Plumland) and Mr Farish; wth Returns of ye Papists. The latter tells me of several old popish psalters, &c in the parish of Holme-Cultr'. Evening, came ye Vicar of Kendale, Cous. J. Fisher and She-Cousin Archer; the Dr being detain'd by his patients.

„ 26. Sunday. Mr Crosby* prd in ye Chapple on Matt 4. 20. A decent Discourse on ye Reasonableness of quitting all for Religion.

„ 30. Thursday. With Mr Whittingdale came Mr Eden (his Fellow-student at Glasgow, & nephew to Sr Robt Eden) to Dinner; where they were met by Mr Wybergh, promiseing good paymt to Dr Archer & Br John. p.m. Our friends frō Kendale carry'd off by Mr Christopherson.

„ 31. Friday. Onely Mr Ward (of Skelton) at Dinner; paying off his Tenths, and pretty ragged in his Equipage.

June 3. Munday. Mr Polstede (collector of Excise) brought me a Letter frō ye Commrs complaining of Mr Gibbon's extraordinary behaviour: And Mrs Simson† (of Thackwood-

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* William Crosby was vicar of Kendal from 1699 to 1734.

† George Simpson of Thackwood married Sarah, daughter of Christopher Richmond of Highhead Castle, by his wife Isabella, whose second husband was Matthias Miller. George Simpson's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh of Kirkoswald.—Nicolson and Burn. See June 15th, 22nd, 25th; July 10th, 13th, 14th. E

Nook) desireing a Warrant of good Behaviour ag^t her Mother in Law. These, in ye morning, harsh Entertainments on my Birth-Day. Mr Threlkeld onely at Dinner. It's this day 51 years since I was born; 20 since marry'd; and 4 from my Confirmation as Bishop.

June 5. Wednesday. In ye morning, Mrs Tullie frō Carlile; the Chanc^r fishing.

„ 7. Friday. At night a Fruitless attempt at Angling.

„ 13. Thursday. My brother and Mr B. accompany'd me to High-head; where Mrs Miller deeply engaged in ye Consistory with Mr Walker, and in Chancery with her Daughter Richmond. Returning by Mr Scot's, we found at home Mr Edwards; who was goeing to take care of the D. of Hamilton's Gardens &c. at Ashton. He proposed a deal of cheap Vistoes ab^t my Gardens, ye woods, &c, and rightly observ'd y^t most places are capable of some easy Beauties; but the expence is——I will have this very thing; whether my Situation admits it or not.

„ 14. Friday. At my first Riseing, a Letter frō Sr R. Musgrave requesting Aspatrick (on ye unfortunate Death of Mr Hume) for his son James; which follow'd by L. Troghere's personal sollicitations for his son. At noon Mr Pattinson for his; and he had my proposeal to Mr Chanc^r to provide for him & D. Bell. Mr Scott also din'd with us; & kept ye Anniversary of my comeing to ye Bishoprick, now entering A^o Consecr. 5to.

„ 15. Saturday. Afternoon Mr Simson of Thackw^dnook for's mother ag^t his wife; Mr Ireland, in pain ab^t his Northampton-Rents; Mr Jefferson (wth a Letter frō B^r Nevinson) for Aspatrick; Mrs G. & D. Bell frō Mr Hume's Funeral, & ye Latter promis'd to succeed.

„ 22. Saturday. At Dinner Mr Rec^r Aglionby; pressing earnestly my sending for, and admonishing, Mr Simpson of Thackwoodnook and's wife.

„ 23. Sunday. I read prayers and preach'd in ye Chappel, Mr Benson supplying my Turn at ye Cathedral; and carrying wth him my Letter to ye D. and Chapter. Mr Dean not there.

„ 24. Munday. After dineing wth ye Vice-Dean and Chapter, and a too passionate Treatm^t of Dr Todd, I went with the Recorder to a meeting of the Justices; where Lists of Papists pretty freely given in. The Chapter coolly advis'd to be unanimous in expostulateing with ye Dean.

„ 25. Tuesday. Afternoon, Mrs Miller; wth ye state of her Daughter Simpson's Case.

June 27. Thursday. I and my Family went to the Thanksgiveing at ye Cathedral; and dined with the Vicedean and Chapter.

„ 28. Friday. Mr B. gone to meet Mr Xtopherson at Penrith, I was chaplain. At Dinner, Mr W. Stephenson; seeking a warrant ag^t^ ye Sheep-stealers of ye Barony of Burgh. He commends Mr G. Lowther, for his Diligence in his cure.

„ 30. Sunday. The Vicedean & Chapter sign'd ye Address to ye Qu. and return'd an Ans^r^ to my Letter; agreeing y^t^ Mr Dean present it, I naming one of a Superiour Character to Introduce him.

July 3. Wednesday. At Dinner, Ald. Ja. Nicolson and Tho. Kidd; fetching a surrender of the last scraps* of Ambrose Nicolson's Land.

„ 4. Thursday. Mr Chanc^r^, M^r^ AD. Capt Philips & two Couss. Langstaff's at Dinner; ye first on his way to Lancashire. Afternoon, visit to my Sister Nicolson; and viewing the Mill and Wiers. — M^rs^† Ch. and AD. acquainted me wth D^r^ T's attempt at a peculiar Jurisdiction in ye Abbey; particularly ag^t^ Sis. Carlile.‡

„ 5. Friday. I began to look over my (long neglected) Notes of Collections out of the old Register-Books of this Diocese; and resolv'd (Deo dante) to make my Extract, before the approaching Dimness of the Day overtake me.

„ 10. Wednesday. Afternoon, young Mrs Simson of Thackwood-nook had a warr^t^ of ye peace & Good behaviour ag^t^ her mother-in-Law.

„ 11. Thursday. I went to pay my Respects at Lowther; where L^d^, Ladies &c. very obligeing. Schoolm^r^ at Bampton (in all the old Deeds) a Licens'd preacher. Dr Archer & Cous. Cock frō Kendale. Mr Lost goeing to marry.

„ 12. Friday. At Dinner, Mr Lowther of Bowness; desireing me to injoyn a second penance on G. Lawson.
Afternoon, Mr Gibbon left us; and Dr Scott, late Dean of Glasgow, call'd on me. He had a Grace frō ye Un' of Camb' for 100^lb^ &c.

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* See note on the Nicolson pedigree in the C. & W. *Transactions*, N.S., vol. i., p. 48.

† Here, as in some other places, "Mrs." is the plural of "Mr."

‡ See August 8th and 10th. According to the registers of St. Mary's Parish, the Spooners had lived in the Abbey. Of the canons, Fleming then resided in the Abbey, and Tullie also seems to have occupied his own house there, which he had built, at least till the completion of Tullie House; therefore Mrs. Spooner was probably in the house belonging to the first stall, which had been her brother's. It appears from this that she continued to live there after her second marriage.

July 13. Saturday. Mrs Fetherston, at Dinner, forerunner of her Aunt Simson and Mrs Elianor who, as furious on young Mrs S. as she is on them. The Sessions must determine.

„ 14. Sunday. Afternoon, young Mrs Simson complaining of a warrant agt her sisters. Do Justice.

„ 27. Saturday. Mr AD. Fleming luckily din'd wth me, at my Rect of my Letters frō AB. of Y. and or Dean. Dr T. wrongs ye Chapter in his Appeal, as well as me; but ye Dean is in ye right, his prot' being enter'd by common consent.

Aug. 7. Wednesday. In ye morning I went early to Carlile; and visitted the two Judges (Ld Ch. Baron Ward and Mr Justice Tracy) before prayers. After Sermon, preach'd by heart by Mr Benson, Ld Ch. Baron (in the close of his Charge) Inveigh'd against ye Insinuations of ye Church's being in Danger and magnify'd ye Advantages of ye Union of ye two Kingdomes. His Ldship shew'd me an Impertinent Letter frō Mrs Donning wherein His Ldship is desir'd to apply to me concerning Sr Wilfrid Lawson's Will.

„ 8. Thursday. Dineing early at home, I went to Carlile; where Lady Lawson attended by me & Mr Farish, to adjust the meaning of Sr W. L's bequest to the Vicarage of Isell. My Lady kindly offers to settle the Barns and leave ye Tenemts proportionably charg'd with part of the Annuity on the Tithes. — Before this (immediately after prayers) I call'd ye Chapter together; and resented Dr Todd's malitious Accusation of my Sister Carlile. I stay'd in Town this night to attend.

„ 9. Friday. A Second Tryal betwixt ye Citizens and my Tenants abt ye Tolls; which lasted from six in the morning till two in the afternoon. Sr Tho Parker managed for ye Tenants very handsomely; and observ'd that the Grant of ye City-Liberties shew'd yt they were all held in Farm under ye Crown, and were mention'd in ye Charters Sicut parcellæ dictæ firmæ.

5. Hen. 3. they were so farm'd.

14. Hen. 3. Dalston given to the Bishop.

15. Hen. 3. The Charter to ye Bp's Tenants.

Their proof good also for Dalston: But, it not appearing (tho' most certain) that the Barony of Crosby & Mannr of Linstock were held of ye Bishop before ye 15. H. 3. ye Verdict was given onely for those of Dalston.

„ 10. Saturday. Certificate frō ye Vice dean & Chapter touching Dr Todd's slanders.

Aug. 20. Tuesday. Cous. Langstaff and his Br Bell, moveing for a Dispensation to hold Aspatrick with Kirklinton. Noe.

„ 21. Wednesday. Mr Farish, at Dinner, not satisfy'd with my Award abt ye Tithes of Isell; tho' made by his own Directions. After Dinner, Mr Hume's two sons; the Clown & Soph.

„ 22. Thursday. At Dinner Monsr Loste; desireous (too early) to be in priest's Orders. He shew'd me a kind letter to himself frō Monsr Turretin (Junr or son of ye late warm Calvinist of yt name) now Professor of Divinity at Geneva: who takes notice therein of his haveing newly sent over several of his Anniversary Speeches [Harangues] to several of our Bishops, and of ye great esteem the Divines there have for ye Church of England. Ld Lonsdale will go to Qu. Coll.

„ 27. Tuesday. In ye evening, Mr Gibbon (in his way to Carlile) wishing my appearance in his mother Williams's Cause. No — 'Tis now party.

„ 29. Thursday. At Dinner, Mr Gibbon, returning from ye adjournmt of ye Sessions; where Mrs Williams a Conquerour. Six Justices (of Ten) reversing ye Judgement agt her.

„ 31. Saturday. This day's post brought me two extraordinary Letters: The one (in print, Num. 3) from Mr Rymer, wch I could wish were still in MS and the other from AD Pearson in writeing, stating the case of ye Ecclesiastical Churchwarden, which I could wish (as it well deserves) were printed.*

Sep. 2. Munday. Still Rainy. None at Dinner but old S. Fountain; willing to take money as well as meat. A summons from Mr Holme, to attend my Lady Lonsdale's Reference on Wednesday.

„ 4. Wednesday. Terribly wett in my way to Askham; where I din'd with Ld Lonsdale, Sr John Wentworth, Mr Holme, &c. Before & after Dinner, a long fruitless Debate 'twixt ye Vicar & Schoolmr of Bampton, about ye Lecture there; and a proposeal made yt ye Salary be equally divided. To Lowther.

„ 5. Thursday. At Penrith, in a Treaty with Mr Howard of Corby touching settlements answerable to his Lady's

* Nichols' collection of *Bishop Nicolson's Correspondence* contains two letters from Archdeacon Pearson bearing on this case, but neither of them appears to be the letter here mentioned.

Fortune of 5000lb.* On his side Mr Ch. Howard of Greystock & Mr Tho Dalston; and on my Lady Lonsdale's, Mr Lowther of Meaburn, Mr Recorder Aglionby & myself. After two hours discourse, all points agreed: saveing yt ye Education of ye Children were onely to be in the Christian and Catholic Faith, wthout being ty'd to ye Church of England in particular.

Visits to Mrs Todd and Mr Hutton.

Sep. 13. Friday. Afternoon, Mr Hunter & Mr Thornborrow wth ye old complaint against Vicar Hodgson;† and the parson brought me also Dr Kennet's Sermon and other pieces, in favour of ye Societies. It. Mr Slee of Penruddock, son to ye late Dissenting Preacher there, applying for Deacon's Orders.

„ 14. Saturday. Holy-Rood Day. Weather again showry and unsetled, black and frowning, too natural an Emblem of ye Times. per Cruce' Sta' salva nos Xte Redemptor!

„ 18. Wednesday. Good news and good weather. Deo Gloria! After Dinner, Mr L. Simpson; shewing me, from ye Bill & Ansr, yt ye Verdict in ye City-Cause was for All Tolls.

„ 26. Thursday. At dinner, Cous. Gilpin‡ and his two Daughters; takeing Leave on yir goeing to Whitehaven. Afternoon, Mr Robinson of Ousby; for haveing my son Jos. to go to Aulston-Moor to see his Water-engine. Not till ye weather mends. — Q's Lrs to ye Ladies Marlb. & Sund' with a special seal.

Oct. 1. Tuesday. Afternoon, Cous. Susan Bell solliciteing for consent to her Husband's Dispensation. I cannot do it: But will write to his brother Tom on Thursday.

„ 2. Wednesday. Afternoon, Mrs Crackanthorp of Newbiggin; with a heavy out-cry agt (yir parson) Mr Jackson,§ very scandalous.

„ 5. Saturday. At Dinner Cous. Briscoe; wth whom the Afternoon fruitlessly spent in fowling.

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* Probably this relates to the marriage mentioned in the diary June 12th, 1705.

† Probably George Hodgson, vicar of Ainstable, 1680 to 1737, of whom a bad account is given in Bishop Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 111.

‡ William Gilpin of Whitehaven, and afterwards of Scaleby Castle, Recorder of Carlisle, 1717. He was son of Richard Gilpin, the Puritan, ejected from Greystoke; his mother was Susanna, eldest daughter of William Brisco of Crofton. The daughters were great favourites of the Bishop. "The young gentleman left us his two sweet sisters."—August 14th, 1708.

§ Thomas Jackson, B.A., rector of Newbiggin, 1698 to 1731. He was suspended, and his wife also had to do penance.—Diary, July 30th, August 9th, September 19th, 1707.

Oct. 6. Sunday. My Nephew Ar. Chambers surpriz'd me wth his first Sermon in the Chapple on 2 Tim. 3. 4 — Lovers of pleasure &c. His Delivery good; but the composure like that of a young Oxford-Divine.

„ 7. Munday. Afternoon, Mr Jackson (of Newbiggin) confessing his Incontinency; for which he's like to have a heavy pennance at ye Visitation. In ye evening, Mr Christian; from ye Court-Leet at Dalston. His eldest son (wth him) newly return'd from ye College at Dublin; and design'd for Greys-Inn.

„ 12. Saturday. Our friends being gone in ye morning, Mr Benson and I rode out as far as Finland &c, designing a visit in our Return to Mr Threlkeld of Aiketon; who is dying in a Jaundice and Dropsie.

„ 16. Wednesday. Onely Mr Noble at dinner. He sends up his Son wth mine; and wishes for his serveing him.* That's bespoke.

„ 18. Friday. Afternoon, I went (wth my B^r^ & Mr B.) to view ye Church at Seburgham; and gave out Orders for ye removeing of ye pulpit, levying of ye Church-sess, and mending the Causeway.

„ 19. Saturday. Ensign Porter, at Dinner, takeing Leave for Ireland; recommended to, my cousin, L. Coll. Ja. Nicolson.

„ 23. Wednesday. Morning, Mr Rook proposeing my being one of the Trustees in Mr Rec^r^ Aglionby's settlement of his Estate, and that he & Mr Patteson might meet here on ye Forest-Cause.

At Dinner Mr Whitingale; ag^t^ turning petty-Canon: And Cous. G. Langstaff, considering what Return to make to Lord Treasurer.

„ 26. Saturday. Notice of ye Session of P. on ye 21 of ye next month; and pressing Instances to be at Lambeth some dayes before.

„ 29. Tuesday. Mr B. gone wth Cous. Briscoe (o' setting and courseing) Cous. A. Ch. officiated as Chaplain.

„ 31. Thursday. At Dinner Cous. Briscoe of Crofton; who is willing to have some place: And Mr Holm of Lowther; wth a Letter from Ld L. for's holding Aketon in commenda'.

Nov. 7. Thursday. I sett out, for London, accompany'd wth Mr Chanc^r^ Mr Archdeacon &c fourteen horse. Treated at Salkeld, Woodside and Kirkbythore, on ye way; and, at Appleby, by Mr Mayor Robinson and his Brethren. Mett there by Dr Fleming, Mr Atkinson of Kirkby Steph. M^r^

* At Queen's College, Oxford.

Thompson of Burgh, Mr Atkinson of Morland &c. The three p[r]bendaries agreed to exclude Dr Todd from offices, of all kinds, for ye year ensueing. Mr Banks's Accts clear'd for my sons, I went weary to bed.

Nov. 8. Friday. In dismal weather, frō Appleby (by Dr Fleming's) to Burrow-bridge; where my two sons confin'd all night: Thence conducted by Cous. Fisher, Mr Crossby, Mr Tho. Benson, &c to Oxenholm.* N.B. The new Society at A. for Reformation of Manners. Dr Fl. Mr AD. and Mr Xtopherson left also at B.B.

„ 9. Saturday. After prayers, Mr Tho. Benson treated us at a splendid Dinner: Afternoon visits at Mr Forth's, Cous. Croft's, Mrs Farrington's, I return'd lame (in a rheumatic knee) to Oxenholm. A restless night.

„ 10. Sunday. I preach'd twice; din'd (at Mr Forth's) wth Mr Mayor, at his extraordinary Expence; visitted Mr Shepherd and Mr Lambert, and return'd (wth a deal of company) to a late supper at Oxenholm.

„ 11. Munday. Dineing early at Ox' visits in the afternoon at Stanebankgreen, Cous. Cock's and Mr Simpson's: whence to a generous Supper at Mr Chambers's and (after nine) home again wth Mr Mayor.

Thence he rode to London, in very bad weather, by Clapham, Settle, Wakefield, Doncaster, Nottingham, and Leicester, arriving at his old lodging in Manchester Court on November 20th.

The remainder of the volume is concerned with the Bishop's stay in London. It does not seem very interesting, and only a few short extracts are here given.

Dec. 30. Munday. I preach'd (to the Societies for Reformation) at Bow Church.

„ 31. Tuesday. Accommodated wth Robes by ye B. of Lincoln, and a seat in my Ld of York's Coach, I attended ye Queen in Her glorious procession to St Paul's; the weather Good, and ye Show unspeakeably fine. From ye H. of Lords to the Church 3 hours and a Qr. Decorū of both Houses &c very extraordinary. After ye B. of Sarum's elegant Harange; I din'd wth ye Dean of St Asaph, & was brought home by (his Uncle) ye Bp.

* The house of his brother-in-law Dr. Archer, who was Mayor of Kendal, 1707.

1706/7.

Jan. 18. Saturday. The L^ds not sitting, I went (wth Mr Hutchinson) to see ye New Hospital at Greenwich; which will be a most magnificent structure, far (as yet) frō being finish'd. We also visitted Mr Flamsted's Observatory; whence a glorious view of London, the Thames &c. His Motus Annuus (made by Tompion 1676, ye same year Sr Jonas More got the Observatory reer'd) is much neglected and out of Order; and his Motus perpetuus wholly ceas'd. His Quadrant-House mean; and the Well long since fill'd up.

Feb. 22. Saturday. My L^d of Cant. had frō me ye Valuation of ye Bishoprick of Chester, as sent frō Mr Commissary Waite; w^ch (wth ye Rectory of Wigan, set at 300^lb) makes 1160^lb clear. After a pipe with Mr Snow, home to write Letters.

„ 26. Ash Wednesday. m. With ye AD^n & brother John to Whitehall; where we heard Mr Higgins's Tory-Sermon (on Rev. 3, 2 & 3) in hon^r of ye Ch & Governm^t of Ireland and vilely bespattering both in England.

Mar. 1. Saturday. m. Visits from Mr Hutchinson & L. Simpson. AD. Fl and B^r John din'd with ye Dean at Chelsea.

„ 8. Saturday. Her M^ty's Inauguration, entering her 6th year. I preach'd before ye Queen at St James's on Levit 25, 20 & 21. The House sitting, a few Lords were present. Onely ye two AB.B. and B. of St Asaph in the Chapple, and B. of Exeter in ye Vestry. Ld Treasurer, E. of Cholmondeley, &c. AD. Fl. and I dined with my Lord of York; who very cheerful.

„ 12. Wednesday. m. By water (wth ye AD^n) to Salisbury-Court; whence to Aldersgate, giveing earnest for ye Stage-coach to Warrington. I din'd (wth ye AD & brother John) at ye Talbot, and this day, the first in ye Session, did not go to ye House. Evening, Mr Dean of Carlile; protesting ag^t my Visitation, as (this day) ag^t ye Q's prorogueing of ye Convocation. Supper (wth AD. my brothers and two Broughams) at Mr W. Johnson's. NB. At ye Archimedes, fine microscopes; wch shew'd us ye Circulation of ye Blood in Newts.

„ 14. Friday. AD. & I din'd together at ye Talbot; and, after a walk into Hide-park, spent ye evening (wth wine & Oysters) at Salisb. Ct. takeing leave of B^r John & W. Rook.

„ 20. Thursday. In ye morning, Letter from Lord Chamberlain; signifying ye Queen's pleasure y^t my Sermon (on ye 8th Instant) be printed.

Mar. 21. Friday. In ye morning, my Sermon put into Dr Gibson's hand for ye press. After purchaseing of paper, and a Visit from Sis. Rothery, ye AD. and I din'd at ye Short Dog; went by water to pay for my visitation-Articles at Black-Fryers; bought Gowns in Ludgate-street; paid Visits at Aldgate, Dr Waugh's & B^r^ Joseph's and return'd weary home.

„ 23. Sunday. After a Ramble wth AD. Fl. in ye Park, to his b^r^ Captain's Lodgeings &c. I dined at B^r^ Jos's with Mr Johnson & Sis. Rothery. Haveing taken a short nap there in ye afternoon, and stay'd till nine at night, I took leave; and went to Lodge (unadvisedly) at ye George-Inn without Aldersgate, where little or no Sleep that night, and——

„ 24. Munday. Hence I began my uncomfortable Journey encouraged by my brother, wth ye AD^n^ Mr Sinclare (from Leghorn) with his wife & daughter, and Mrs Holme of Manchester. Before I reach'd St Alban's much inflam'd, &c. Yet, here I went to see ye Body of Humphrey D. of Gloucester in his vault; and held out, that night, to Dunstable. Where Straw-work made by ye poor.

1707.

Mar. 25. Tuesday. Before I got (three miles) to Hockley, not able to endure the Coach, I quitted my company; resolveing to Return to London. Afterwards, I chang'd my purpose; and hireing Horses, overtook them again at Newport-Pagnel, whence I rode on ye AD's serv^t's^ horse to Northampton. It was here y^ir^ great Fair-Day; w^ch^, being notify'd frō London, hinder'd my Son Joseph and his Tutour from meeting us (as was once intended) at this place.

He continued his journey on horseback by Coventry, Nantwich, Warrington, Preston, and Oxenholme.

Apr. 3. Thursday. I got home on my wife's Birth-day (haveing been met at Shap by my brother John and Mr Benson) in a crazy state. God give me patience; and (if it be his pleasure) Restore my health! Fiat Voluntas tua! Amen.

ART. II.—*On the Bishop's Licence.* By HENRY BARNES, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

Read at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

IT does not appear to be generally known that in former times Bishops had the power to grant licenses to practise medicine, surgery, and midwifery. In the paper just submitted by the President there are several entries relating to applications made to Bishop Nicolson for licenses to practise in this diocese. These entries are as follows :—

1706. May 10.—Mr Blacket, an Irish Surgeon, applies for a license.
1711. July 3.—Licenses to a Surgeon at Burgh & Schoolm^r^ at W'meloc.
„ Aug. 16.—Mr Henker licens'd Chyr.
1713. „ 5.—A. D. Fleming an earnest suitor for a physick-license to Mr Rigby, a Dissenting preacher.

Having been asked if I could throw any light on this matter, and show on what authority the Bishop was acting, it occurred to me that it would be of interest to the members to enter rather more fully into the subject, and to trace how it came about that this privilege was first conceded to the Bishops. In a previous paper* I have given some account of the medical profession and the conditions of medical practice during the period in which the Romans occupied this part of Britain, and in so doing I traced the history of medicine very briefly from Greek to Roman times. In the present paper I propose to continue the history, and to show how some of the various licensing authorities were constituted.

* "On Roman Medicine and Roman Medical Practitioners."—These *Transactions*, vol. i., N.S., p. 52.

Pliny tells us that the Druids were at once priests, poets, and physicians; and in the latter capacity they acted partly by prayer and laying on of hands, by divination, by the use of charms, and partly in a more scientific manner. In the numerous human sacrifices, which they would see from time to time, they would doubtless obtain some knowledge of the structure of the human body which would help them in their work among the sick. They were well versed in medical botany, and their veneration for the mistletoe is well known. In the words of Pliny,* "they call it All Heale (for they have an opinion of it that it cureth all maladies whatsoever)." Two other herbs called *selago* and *samolus* were likewise greatly valued by them for their medicinal virtues, and they held the marshwort and vervain in high esteem. They were also good pharmacists, and could extract the juices of herbs and plants by steeping them in cold water; they made tinctures by infusing the juices in wine, and decoctions by boiling the herbs in water. They also administered drugs by fumigation, and were well acquainted with the art of making salves and ointments.

The Danish and Saxon leeches were more ignorant than the Druids. They relied largely upon herbs for the healing of all bodily infirmities, but they drew sometimes from animals. Incantations and amulets were also largely used. In the centuries between 500 and 1000 A.D., the general acceptance of magic influence was so strong, and the fashion set in that direction so general, that every candidate for the confidence of the public must fall in with it. Many charms similar to those referred to in my last paper as being in use in Rome were common among the Saxon leeches. Absurd remedies were not infrequent. In a work† to which my attention was called by the Dean of Carlisle many examples will be found. There is a copy

* *Natural History*, book xvi., cap. 44.

† *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, collected and edited by the Rev. Oswald Cockayne, M.A. London; 1864.

of it in the Dean and Chapter Library, Carlisle. The author states that "some to secure health would fast in honour of the moon;" some for a baby's recovery "would creep through a hole in the ground, and stop it up behind them with thorns." For bite of spider, "prepare a hare's sinews, and give them to the man to eat; it is also good, if one swallow them raw;" "also they be good against nausea, if sodden." Some of their remedies show that they were well acquainted with the action of remedies still in common use, although they were somewhat peculiar in their method of using them. For example (*Op. Cit.*, vol. ii., p. 153), "if to a man there betide much wakefulness, rub down a poppy in oil, smear thy forehead therewith, and all thy body, wonderfully soon the wakefulness will be moderated for him." Here there is evidence of their knowledge of the soporific influence of the poppy; and, as the author points out, the change in the pronoun is obviously an error of the text. They also seem to have been well acquainted with the value of fomentations, poultices, and cataplasms. For example, "if a knee be sore, pound henbane and hemlock," both sedative remedies, "foment therewith and lay on." For the man whose head acheth, or if worms rule in the head—probably neuralgia or tic—"it is recommended to take mustard seed and rape seed, mingle them with vinegar, and knead it with the vinegar, that it may be as thick as dough. Smear the forehead therewith. This is a special leech-craft." It would be easy to multiply instances of striking remedies in common use, but these must suffice.

It is obvious that the Saxons in getting possession of their new territories did not find this country in the condition described by Julius Cæsar, but cultivated and improved by all that the Romans knew of agriculture and gardening. In the gardens there were many plants possessing medicinal virtues—such as mustard, fennel, celandine, parsley, coriander, savine, cummin, rosemary, and others; and many foreign drugs were in common

use—such as brimstone, quicksilver, myrrh, ginger, cinnamon, pepper, aloes, scammony, and petroleum. They had doubtless learned something of southern arts before they came here, but they very soon would find out that they could only enjoy their new acquisitions by fully understanding the methods of ordering and using them to the fullest advantage. They began to study the writings of the Greeks and Romans, and in this way they soon became familiar with the action of remedies of various kinds. In this they were materially assisted by the influence of the priests, who introduced books from Rome. There is evidence that as early as the seventh century there were men in this country who made a study of the science of medicine, and practised it as a profession. The establishment of monasteries in different parts of the country doubtless contributed to advance knowledge, and there was generally in each monastery a member of the community who was consulted as a physician. It is a matter of interest that among the letters of Boniface there is one from a Saxon asking for some books *de medicinalibus*. He says there were plenty of such works in England, but the foreign drawings were unknown to his country and difficult to obtain. In a Saxon treatise* described by Wanley, attributed by some to the time of Alfred, there are numerous prescriptions, and about 150 remedies against various diseases.

In the period just before the accession of William the Conqueror, a stimulus was given to the study of medicine by the medical schools of Salernum, Naples, and Montpellier, which were frequented by students from all parts of Europe. The *Schola Salernitana* appeared very early in an English form, and the original is believed to have been dedicated to the eldest son of William the Conqueror, Duke Robert, who was under treatment at Salernum for a sinus in his right arm, due to a wound received at the

* Quoted from *The Craft of Surgery*, by J. Flint South, 1886, to which I am indebted for much valuable information.

siege of Jerusalem. It is written in verse, and for a long period it formed the text-book of dietetics for Western Europe. As showing its reputation, it may be mentioned that twenty editions of it appeared in Latin within a century after the invention of printing, of which the earliest was published in 1480.

The school of Salernum, from which this work emanated, conferred after examination a license to practise. This was a privilege that was at that time not possessed by any other school. At Naples, as early as the eleventh century, licenses to practise were granted after a five years' training, but the students had to be recommended by the College to the King or his Chancellor as fit persons. At this period the clergy were almost the only persons who taught and practised physic as well as the other sciences, and there are few names celebrated in the annals of medicine at this date except those of ecclesiastics. In the course of time, however, the profession became so lucrative that many monks, having applied themselves to its study, deserted their monasteries and neglected their religious duties. This led to certain restrictions being imposed. Under the Eighth Canon promulgated by the Council of Tours, in A.D. 1163, monks were prohibited from staying out of their monasteries above two months at one time, and were forbidden to teach or practise physic. No restraint was at first laid on the secular clergy, and many Bishops and dignitaries of the Church acted as physicians-in-ordinary to Kings and Princes, and thereby acquired riches and honour. These physicians were priests, who were educated at Salernum, and were learned in the writings of Rhazes, Avicenna, and other Arabian writers, whose works had been translated into Latin by a monk of Mount Casino, near Salernum, named Constantine.

By the end of the twelfth century the scientific method of teaching and studying physic led to a separation of physicians and surgeons into two distinct classes of practitioners. In the account which has come down to us of

the attempts to cure the wound received by Richard the First before the Castle of Chalons in 1199, the two classes are clearly distinguished, and special duties are assigned to each :—

Interea regem circumstant undique mixtim
Apponunt medici fomenta, secantque chirurgi
Vulnus, ut inde trahunt ferrum leviore periclo.

There were also some who about this period applied themselves more particularly to the study of materia medica, and the composition of medicines. They were known as apothecaries. Richard Fitz Nigel, who died as Bishop of London in 1198, is said to have been apothecary to Henry II.

Next to the clergy the Jews possessed the largest share of learning, and Benjamin of Tudela, in his Itinerary, written about 1165, mentions many who were physicians, and practised not only among their own tribes, but among the Moors and Christians. After his return from his travels over the greater part of the then known world, this learned Jew commends the school of Salernum as the best seminary of physic among the Western Christians.

The priests were very jealous of the encroachments of the Jewish physicians and lay surgeons, and in order to exclude the former from the honours and emoluments of medical practice, they obtained from Rome a formal excommunication against all who committed themselves to the care of a Jewish physician. The canon law also enacted that no Jew might give physic to any Christian. These measures, however, had but a limited measure of success. Their efforts in restraining lay surgeons appear to have been still less successful. The Popes did not look upon the practice of surgery with favour; and, indeed, considered it derogatory to the dignity of a priest. Many attempts were made to prohibit priests from performing surgical operations, and by an ordinance of Pope Innocent III., passed in 1215, ecclesiastics were debarred from

undertaking any operation involving the shedding of blood, on the plea that the Church *abhorret a sanguine*.

By two subsequent decrees, the first issued by Pope Boniface the Eighth at the close of the thirteenth century and the second by Pope Clement the Fifth about the beginning of the fourteenth century, surgery was formally separated from physic, and priests were absolutely forbidden to practise surgery. The priests, however, attempted to evade these edicts by making use of their servants, whose duties at first included the shaving of the heads of the priests, and thus they became known as barbers. These barbers were taught to make use of bandages and to perform venesection,* and other minor operations in surgery. They were then taught to perform graver operations, working entirely under the direction of the priests, in order to evade the edicts of the Pope. As they became more competent under this instruction they assumed the title of barber surgeons, and in course of time formed themselves into a confraternity or fellowship. The more enlightened and progressive members, by attending lectures and gaining practical experience, began to consider their connection with the barbers as degrading; and, freeing themselves from it, became a College of Surgeons. The records of the City of London show that the surgeons were first recognised as a distinct body in 1368. Many of them had been in the army and had served abroad, where they doubtless learned much of their art; but they could only obtain a license to practise by appearing before the authorities of the city, and producing evidence of their fitness. There is abundant testimony as to many quarrels between the surgeons and barber-surgeons, and great jealousy existed between them. The first charter which the barber-surgeons obtained was in 1462, the first year of the reign of Edward IV.; but this

* The barber's pole with a red and white spiral band on it, and sometimes with a brass bason suspended from its end, still to be seen in many of our smaller towns as "the barber's sign," indicates that these barbers were in former times qualified to practise venesection.

did not enable the Guild to grant licenses to practise, and those wishing for a license had to obtain the sanction of the civic authorities in the same way as the surgeons. About fifty years later a new licensing authority was created by an Act called "an Act for the appointment of physicians and surgeons," and it is the first of its kind of which there is any record. Owing to the quarrels and jealousies of the Guilds and Colleges, the practice of physic was stated to be improperly supervised, and had fallen into the hands of smiths, weavers, and women. By an Act passed in the third year of the reign of Henry VIII. (1511) power was granted to ecclesiastical authorities to issue licenses to practise medicine and surgery. It was under the provisions of this Act that Bishop Nicolson was authorised to grant the licenses referred to in the beginning of this article. Under the provisions of this Act, any person was forbidden "in the city of London, or within seven miles of the same, to take upon to exercise or occupy as a physician or surgeon except he be first examined, approved, and admitted by the Bishop of London or the Dean of St. Pauls for the time being." Each of these dignitaries was required to associate with himself four doctors of physic* before granting a license in medicine; and for surgery other expert persons in that faculty, who were to certify after due examination as to the fitness of the candidate to practise the art. In other parts of the country the Bishop of the diocese or the vicar-general acted as licenser. The Privy Council, although not named in the Act, had the same power of granting licenses.

Midwives were in those days licensed by the same authorities. This was necessary, inasmuch as if there was any danger of the child dying before the priest could be summoned the midwife was bound to baptize

* The first doctor to obtain a degree at the University of Oxford of which there is any record was Thomas Edmunds in 1449, and the University of Cambridge has one of five years later date.—*British Medical Journal*, 1902, p. 1615.

it. It was therefore necessary that the midwife should be licensed, and also endowed with authority to perform the sacred rite of baptism. Before the license was granted an oath containing fifteen items was solemnly administered to her. She was to use "pure and clean water only, and not any rose or damask water or water made of any confection." I have not found any record as yet of licenses granted in this diocese to midwives, but in the Norwich Diocese Book, between 1770 and 1786, there is a record of licenses given to thirty persons "to perform the office, business, and functions of midwife;" to three persons (two of whom were females) to practise as surgeons, and to two others to practise phlebotomy. No license was granted after 1786. From the table of fees in the Consignation Book at Norwich, 1706, it appears that licenses to practise physic, surgery, and midwifery were generally one shilling each; sometimes two shillings. The fees probably varied in different dioceses, as I find that Sterne mentions in *Tristram Shandy*, the first edition of which was published in 1759, that Parson Yorick, upon the installation of a midwife in his parish, cheerfully paid the fees of the ordinary's license himself, amounting in the whole to the sum of 18s. 4d. Having obtained a license the midwife was still subjected to supervision by the ecclesiastical authorities as to the manner in which she discharged her duties. Among the articles to be inquired of within the province of Canterbury in 1576, Archbishop Grindal,* who was a native of Cumberland, mentions the following:—

Article 58. Whether there be any among you that use sorcery or witchcraft, or that be suspected of the same, and whether any use any charms or unlawful prayer, or invocations in Latin, or otherwise, and namely midwives in the time of woman's travail of child; and whether any resort to any such for help or counsel, and what be their names?

* *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D.*, successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of York and Canterbury, published by the Parker Society, 1843, p. 174.

The following is an extract from the oath taken by Eleanor Pead before being licensed by Archbishop Grindal to be a midwife :—

> And I will not use any kind of sorcery or incantation in the time of the travail of any woman.

Midwives were also taught in church their duties as regards baptisms. In the Archbishop of York's injunctions to his clergy, curates were enjoined "to instruct midwives openly in the church in the very words and form of baptism, to the intent that they may use them and none other."*

The terms of the license are interesting and worth quoting. The following is a copy of the license granted to a midwife in the diocese of Norwich :—

> Philip (George 1761-1783) by Divine permission Bishop of Norwich, to our beloved in Christ, Sarah the wife of Jonathan Tomlinson, of Walsoken in the county of Norfolk, within our diocese and jurisdiction sendeth greeting. Whereas we understand by good testimony and credible certificate that you are able and well qualified to perform the office, business, and functions of a midwife, as also that you are a person of good life and conversation, and a member of the Church of England, we therefore—as much as in us lies and as far as by law we may or can,—do admit, authorise, and empower you to use and exercise the said office &c, of a midwife in and throughout the Diocese of Norwich, with the best diligence you may or can, indifferently to poor and rich, and also to perform and accomplish all things about the same according to your oath thereupon made and given upon the Holy Evangelists, as far as God will give you grace.

The license granted to physicians and surgeons was a much longer document. I have a copy of one granted by the Bishop of London in 1661 to a surgeon. It recites the provisions of the Act of Parliament under which the Bishop exercised this privilege, the object of the Act being for "the avoiding of many grievous accidents daylie appearing to many of his Maties louving subjects by the unskilful practicers of the Arte and Science of Chirurgery."

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* *Notes and Queries*, January 12th, 1901.

The names of the examiners are duly set forth, and the result of their report, the candidate is sworn before the surrogate and chancellor, and then duly admitted "to use and exercise the said arte and science of Chirurgery soe farre forth as by the lawes of this realme of England we may lawfully admitt him."

The power conferred upon Bishops by this statute of the third year of the reign of Henry VIII. must not be confounded with that passed more than 20 years later—viz., 25 Henry VIII., cap. 21, under which the Archbishop of Canterbury was empowered to grant degrees. This was an Act concerning the exoneration of the King's subjects from exactions and impositions heretofore paid to the See of Rome, and for having licenses and dispensations within this realm without suing further for the same. Medical degrees have frequently been conferred by the Archbishops of Canterbury under this statute, as well as degrees in arts, divinity, and music. But the power of conferring medical degrees was practically abolished by the statute 21, 22 Vict., c. 90, commonly called "The Medical Act of 1858," which enacted that no degree of this kind can be registered as qualifying for practice unless granted before the passing of the Act aforesaid. The Medical Act fully recognised the degrees in medicine and surgery conferred by the various Universities, as well as the licenses and diplomas of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and the Society of Apothecaries; but by this date the license of the Bishop of London and the Dean of St. Paul's, as well as those granted by the Bishops in their various dioceses, had long fallen into disuse.

ART. III.—*Roman-British Fibulæ and other Objects from Brough.* By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Read at Penrith, August 28th, 1902.

BY the kindness of Mr. W. B. Brunskill of Windermere, I exhibit to the Society a small collection of bronze fibulæ and other ornaments. This collection was made at Brough by Mr. Brunskill's grandfather, the late Mr. William Brunskill, to whom, I understand, many such objects were sold as they were found, after having been washed out of the river bank at the Brough camp.

The most interesting are as follows :—

Three harp-shaped fibulæ (Plate I., A B C).

One brooch, consisting of a small circular plaque ornamented with spiral ornament in relief of late Celtic type (figured below).

One small annular fibula (Plate I., D).

Four leaden seals (Plate II., E) inscribed respectively :—

L.V.S C VIR. MID

and an unexplained object in bronze, which appears to be a sort of ornamental finial, having a screw at the bottom (Plate II., F).

Though so many of these objects have been found that they are not rare, their interest is considerable. They are, of course, of Roman date, probably most of the third century A.D. ; but it should be observed in the case of the harp-shaped fibulæ that, although the fashion is Roman, there is strong Celtic influence apparent both in the ornament and finish. There seems little doubt that they are of native manufacture, and probably were made by Romanized Britons, partly for their own use, and perhaps also for sale in the garrison market.

PLATE I.—ROMAN-BRITISH FIBULÆ FROM BROUGH.

TO FACE P. 70

PLATE II.—METAL OBJECTS FROM BROUGH. TO FACE P. 71.

The flat circular brooch is less common, though others of the type have been found at Brough. It is nearly

ROMAN-BRITISH FIBULA, FROM BROUGH (ACTUAL SIZE).

purely Celtic in type, though Mr. C. H. Read tells me he could not say that it belongs to a different date.

These fibulæ or brooches were used for pinning women's dresses like the modern safety pin, of which the fibula is the archetype.

I should mention that Mr. Brunskill has given the collection to the National Museum, where they fit into a considerable series of similar relics from Kirkby Thore and Brough. A fully worked-out paper on the Roman and Roman-British fibulæ from Cumberland and Westmorland would be of much interest in our *Transactions*.*

* For Roman and Roman-British fibulæ, see *Archæologia* LV., p. 183; LII., p. 381; Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 332; &c.

ART. IV.—*Some Notes on the Hermitage at Conishead Priory, Lancashire.* By J. F. CURWEN, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

THE desire in writing these notes is merely to place on record the curious little building hid amongst the woods of the Hermitage Hill overlooking Conishead Priory, which consists of a "mossy cell" and chapel.

It is cruciform in shape, built up of large weather-beaten blocks of limestone, rough and picturesque in appearance; but a building one would think considerably more elegant than hermits were wont to construct for themselves.

The entrance is by a massive-looking porch at the western end, 6 feet 9 inches deep, and roofed over with a pointed arch. There is no dripstone or label to this arch, and yet the effect of one is gained by a cunning row of small $3\frac{1}{2}$-inch stones placed neatly around the voussoirs. Above the arch the gable wall is carried higher up, but only some three feet thick, in the centre of which there is a deep niche for a statue. The floor of the porch is cobble paved, and amongst the stones some slates have been placed on edge so as to form the outline of a cross. The inner arch is likewise pointed and fitted with oaken cheeks, to which is hung, on ornamental wrought-iron hinges, the door cased over with sheet iron. The lock has gone.

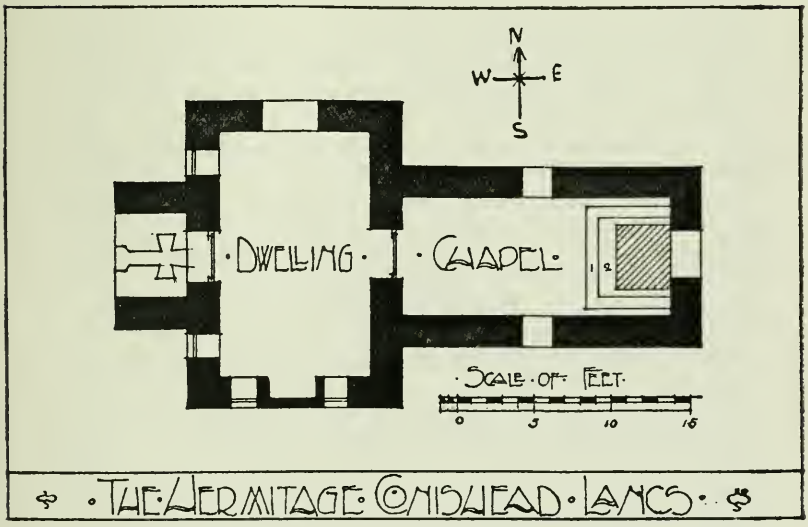
The cell measures internally 15 feet 9 inches by 9 feet 9 inches, and at the southern end there is a fireplace, linteled over by one large and naturally-arched weather-beaten limestone. There are four small windows, one on

HERMITAGE AT CONISHEAD PRIORY.

either side of the fireplace and one on either side of the porch, fitted with iron casements, and outside these again each has a wooden shutter (*fenestræ ligneæ*), also cased over with iron. Besides these there is another larger window opening on the northern wall, now fitted with a modern frame; but lying close by on the floor is the iron-cased shutter to fit the opening.

The remains of a wooden bedstead are still to be seen, and the upright head and foot pieces, cleverly made out of naturally-curved posts, are well worthy of a close inspection. Lying on the floor is a massive cross of red sandstone, 5 feet 9 inches in length, but broken.

The door into the chapel is comparatively modern, because it is made of deal boarding *bead-jointed* together; and yet it is cased in the same kind of old rusty broken-



iron sheeting as the other doors. The chapel measures internally 17 feet 4 inches by 7 feet 8 inches, and has at the eastern end an altar boxed up with flat stones raised

upon two freestone steps. The front of this altar is quatrefoil cusped, and looks of a much more modern date. Jopling, in his *Sketch of Furness and Cartmel*, page 146, mentions a stained-glass window in which the subject of the Annunciation was well depicted.

The whole of the building has been reroofed, yet the slates are again covered with thick vegetation; indeed, there is a sapling some four or five feet high growing luxuriantly upon it. Close beside there is one of those deep grotto declivities into the limestone rock, very similar to the others found in the North Lonsdale district, which may have been dug out for a place of refuge in time of danger.

Without further knowledge I do not think it is possible to give any idea as to either the age or the history of the building.

[Note.—Our member, Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A. (Scot.), contributes the following information upon this subject:—

"Dr. T. K. Fell, of Barrow-in-Furness, tells me that about 1868 the Hermitage had a little stained glass in a small window, and there were the remains of ruins of other buildings near. Before then, Dr. Fell's father remembered (so he told him) that about 1820 Colonel Braddyll kept an old man as a hermit at the Hermitage. He was there for about 20 years, during which time he never had his hair or nails cut. Dr. Fell's father recollected the old man, who came from Bardsea, and the Colonel kept him as a curiosity; he also kept a tame lion in a building known in 1847 as the "Dog Kennel." Mr. Coward, of Ulverston, one of our members since 1884, also says that Col. Braddyll kept the hermit as a sort of show. No mention is made of the Hermitage before 1843, when Jopling's *Furness and Cartmel*, p. 161, says:—'It possesses a habitable apartment and a chapel, etc. On the same hill are the ruins of a castle, etc., partly modern, a small circular tower is however covered with ivy, which must have been the growth of centuries.' In 1847, 'Hermitage and Grotto' are named on the six-inch Ordnance map of Lancashire."

Mr. Gaythorpe suggests that some time after 1821, when Colonel Braddyll had the artificial gable erected on Chapel Island, he had this Hermitage made habitable for his sham hermit, and that the weather-beaten blocks of limestone of which the cell is built may have been obtained from the grotto.

But was there a Hermitage before Col. Braddyll's freak? There was a chapel on Chapel Island before he erected artificial ruins, and it is mentioned by West and Wordsworth (*Prelude*, x.) There was a Priory before the present structure (1821-22), and before the rebuilding mentioned by West (1774). It is certain that there were remains of building on the site of the tower, and Dr. Fell speaks of ruins near the Hermitage. It would be hasty to conclude that no Hermitage existed in ancient times, though we have not yet found record of one. But, then, we have no history of Conishead Priory; and it is possible that some traces and traditions induced the Colonel to build this "mossy sell."

If so, may not the cave have been the original hermitage, and may not the little building be a late concession to luxury? Hermits' caves, with buildings added, are found elsewhere. Many tourists in Switzerland will remember the Beatenhöhle, a cave on the Lake of Thun, with a spring in it and ruined remains of a chapel adjoining; and at the Church of Beatenberg, on the hill above, the old verses giving the story of St. Beatus, the nobleman "aus Engelland," who first preached the Gospel in these parts. Again, above St. Maurice in the Valais. the hermitage of "Notre Dame du Scez" (Saxum) is still, I believe, in use: it is a well-built chapel in front of one of the many caves in the limestone precipice; another of the caves is the "Grotte aux Fées," nearly two miles long, with stalactites, dedicated to fairies and trippers, not saints and hermits. On the Lake of Annecy there is quite a cluster of similar hermitages; above the Abbey of Talloires is the well-known cave of St. Germain, who is said in the inscription to have been a Savignian monk and prior of this abbey in 989, and to have died about 1000 A.D. Particulars of this saint, and the associated hermits Ruph, Ismion, Ismidon, and Bompar, are given in a volume by the Canon V. Brasier (Annecy, 1880). The limestone districts, with their caves, afforded convenient opportunities for this form of religious devotion. In later times it was not uncommon for the site of an early hermitage to be occupied by distinguished heads of monastic bodies, either temporarily or as a place in which to end their days; and, as time went on, hermitages were made more comfortable. For instance, the commune of Sachseln, near Sarnen (Unterwalden), built a cell and chapel for the famous hermit Nicolas von der Flüe (died 1487). In Cumberland we have the instance of Roger's hermitage at Ilekirk (twelfth century), tenanted afterwards by Abbot Adam of Holme Cultram in 1223; and Wetheral Safeguards, perhaps St. Constantine's retreat in the sixth century, but built up into more habitable shape about the fourteenth century.—Ed.]

ART. V.—*South and (part of) South-West Cumberland in the Chartulary of St. Bees.* By W. N. THOMPSON.

Communicated at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

WE shall first deal with the churches which paid pensions to St. Bees, or from which pensions were claimed. These, so far as the present paper is concerned, are the churches of Egremont, Corney, and Whitbeck.

EGREMONT.

When William Meschin gave to St. Mary's Abbey at York the church of St. Bees he restored to it its parish, the bounds whereof were proved by the testimony of good and trusty men to be from Witahova* (Whitehaven) to Chechel (the river Keekle), and by Chechel as it falls into Egre (Ehen), and by Egre into the sea. He gave also to the said church the chapel of Egremont, which was within these bounds. Thus Egremont was once a chapelry in the parish of St. Bees. By 1292, the date of the taxation made by order of Pope Nicholas IV., the chapel has become a church paying a pension of 22s. to St. Bees. But of this change from chapelry to parish the chartulary† gives us no information.

CORNEY.

The church of Corney was given to St. Bees by Copsi in the time of Henry Murdac, Archbishop of York (1147-53). Copsi was lord of Corney, and founder of the

* Perhaps an error in transcription for " Witahovd " or a Latinized form.

† William, *parson* of Egremund, is witness to a charter, the date of which is about 1250. This I discovered after the above was written.

church. About thirty years and more afterwards his gift was confirmed by Roger his son. There is also a confirmation by Benedict de Penington, whose interest in the manor must have been that of mortgagee.* The *Pipe Roll* of 1185 shows it, where we read that "Benedict de Penington renders account of 3 marks because no pledge has prosecuted his claim." Benedict de Penington was lord of Mulcaster and Penington, and the manor of Corney ultimately passed to the Peningtons, but not yet. There are also quitclaims from Christina de Caupland, who was a daughter of Copsi *(Pipe Roll*, 31 Henry II., 1185), and Waldeve her husband and their heirs, and from Horm fitz Roger.

For thirty years and more the church of Corney had paid an annual pension to St. Bees. About 1185 there seems to have been some dispute concerning this pension, and the matter was referred to the arbitration of the abbot of Jervaulx and William, prior of Bolton. Of their award there is no record, but it is presumed that it was adverse to the claims of St. Bees; and, in the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas, Corney is not one of those churches named from which a pension was due. The advowson remained with St. Mary's, York; but the payment of the pension ceased.

WHITBECK.

The church of Whitbeck became appropriated to Conishead Priory, having been given to that house by Gamel de Penygton in the times of Henry II. (Foster, *Penningtoniana*, No. 4). The monks of St. Bees had also some interest therein; whence it was derived there is nothing to show. All we know is that Wytebec was one of those churches which were confirmed to St. Bees by Archbishop Roger of York when Papal legate. He was made legate in 1164 (Haddan and Stubbs, II., 35*n*), and died in 1181.

* I owe this interpretation to the Rev. James Wilson, of Dalston.

Some years afterwards we find Honorius, archdeacon of Richmond, acting as mediator between Robert de Longo Campo, abbot of St. Mary's at York, and the canons of Kuningesheved in a controversy which had arisen about the church of Witebec. The abbot, with the consent of his chapter and of the said canons, considering the poverty of the house of Kuningesheved, made this composition—viz., he granted for ever to the said canons all right which he had in the church of Witebec for an annual payment of five shillings, to be made to the church of St. Bega. And Thomas, prior of Cunengesheved, and the convent thereof acknowledge that they are bound in this payment in the name of a concord made between them and the monks of St. Mary's at York.

From the witnesses we should take the date to be early in the thirteenth century. Honorius was appointed archdeacon in March, 1198; but he seems to have had considerable difficulty in exercising his office, there being a rival claimant to the dignity, Roger de S. Edmunds, who had obtained a grant of it from the King later in the same year. Honorius occurs as archdeacon in the Fine Rolls for 1205 and 1208. (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ed. Hardy, III., 136; W. Farrer, *Early Lancs. Charters*, 364).

Although the monks of York had given up all claim to the church, they still held certain tithes in the parish of Whitbeck. In 1387 there is a convention whereby they grant and to farm let to the prior and convent of Conyngesheved all the tithes of sheaves which they had been accustomed to take within the parish of the church of Whitbek for ten shillings sterling to be paid for all future time by the said prior and convent every year, at the feasts of St. Martin and Pentecost or within forty days immediately following, to the abbot and convent of St. Mary's or to the prior of their cell of St. Bees, in the name of the said abbot and convent, within the said cell; under a "double penalty," if they made default in whole or in part, to be applied to the fabric of the monastery of

St. Mary at York, the convention or pact still holding good for the future in whole as in part. For the annual payment of which ferm or rent the prior and convent of Conyngesheved bind themselves, their monastery and all their goods, present and to come, spiritual as well as temporal, to coercion and distraint by any judge ecclesiastical or civil. Payment not being made in any term, or within forty days after, to subject them to the pains of suspension and excommunication. Likewise the parties will and grant for themselves and their successors that, so long as this convention or composition is faithfully observed, all other conventions or compositions concerning the tithes within the parish of the church of Witbek put forth between the said parties are null and void; otherwise to stand in full force. This document was dated in the chapter house of St. Mary's at York, under their common seal, on August 13th; and in the chapter house of Cunyngesheved, under their common seal, on September 25th, in the year abovesaid.

At the latter date, also, the prior and convent of Cunyngesheved appoint one of their canons, Nicholas de Washington, to appear as their proctor before the Archdeacon of Richmond (or his official) in the cathedral church of York, or elsewhere within the archdeaconry where his official shall hold his Court, and to acknowledge in their name that they and their house are bound to the abbot and convent of St. Mary's at York in this annual rent of ten shillings, under a penalty of suspension and excommunication if the payment be not duly made.

On October 22nd, 1387, the archdeacon's official, William de Irby, Inceptor in Decrees and rector of Medburn in the diocese of Lincoln, held his Court in the parish church of St. Bees; and Nicholas de Wassington came and publicly acknowledged the obligation of his prior and convent with respect to the church of Whitbeck,

in accordance with the tenor of the two foregoing documents, which obligation he solemnly promised in their name to observe. A record of the proceedings (very lengthy) was drawn up by a notary, and sealed by the official.

MORTUARIES.

We come now to two documents relating to the settlement of disputes which had arisen with the abbey of Calder. The first of these is a convention between the prior of St. Bees and the abbot of Caldra upon the third part of the movable goods of the parishioners of the said abbot and convent, found at the time of their death within the limits of the parish of St. Bees.

This is an example of the excessive mortuaries which were exacted within the archdeaconry of Richmond "by the parsons, vicars, and others, such as have benefices and spiritual promotions within the same; as by taking of every person, when he dieth, in the name of a pension or of a portion, sometime the ninth part of all his goods and cattels, and sometime the third part." Such are the words of the preamble of the Statute 26 Henry VIII., Cap. 15, A.D. 1534, which abolished this custom of the archdeaconry, and substituted a graduated scale of fees such as had been enacted a few years earlier for the rest of the kingdom. (Bishop Gibson, *Codex*, 745, 747.)

Controversy upon the subject had already begun between the parties in 1258, in the Chapter of Coupland,* before the official of the Archdeacon of Richmond. At length, A.D. 1268, on Thursday next before the Conversion of St. Paul (January 25th), in full chapter assembled at Egremund, a settlement was arrived at in form below:—viz., Nicholas, prior of St. Bees, for himself and his church and for the abbot and convent of St. Mary's at York,

* The ruridecanal Chapter of Coupland, consisting of the rural dean and clergy, and sometimes of laity also.

granted in perpetuity to the abbot and convent of Caldra and their church, that of the movable goods belonging to parishioners of the said abbot and convent which were in the parish of St. Bees at the time of the death of the said parishioners the said abbot and convent shall take a third part of the third, but only in cases where the said parishioners have no fixed abode in the parish of St. Bees. And the abbot and convent of Caldra, for themselves and their church of Caldra, granted that the said prior and the abbot and convent of St. Mary's for the future may freely take tithe of the whole of the hunting and fishing in the park of Egremund for a certain sum of money, which in that composition the prior of St. Bees paid to the said abbot and convent.

THE PARK OF EGREMUND.

The other document is styled in the rubric an agreement between the prior of St. Bees and the convent of Calder concerning the tithes of Bekermet. These were really the tithes of the eastern side of the park of Egremund: sheaves and the produce of domesticated animals, such as colts, lambs, calves, pigs, &c., grazing and couchant everywhere therein. These seem to have been claimed by the abbot and convent of Caldra in right of their appropriation of the church of St. John, Bekermet; but the abbot and convent of St. Mary's at York, as appropriators of the parish church of St. Bees, contended that they and their predecessors, and chiefly by the priors of their cell of St. Bees, had been time out of mind in full, sufficient, and canonical possession or, as it were, right of taking all and singular the tithes both great and small everywhere within the park of Egremund, as well on the east side of the water of Eghen as on the west, and that the whole of the said park is and has been of the parish (*de parochia*) and within the places of tithing of the church of St. Bees for the time aforesaid. Ultimately it was agreed that the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, in

the name of their church of St. Bees, shall take for ever the tithes abovesaid. It was also agreed that if it happen that cattle belonging to parishioners of St. John's, Bekermet, on account of defect or negligence in their custody and against the will and without the knowledge of the said parishioners, enter the said park, in such wise as is commonly called *Wythoverlepe* and by some *Wytheschape*, and there graze, that of these animals tithe shall not be exacted on the part of the abbot and convent of St. Mary's in the name of the church of St. Bees. If, however, it happen that cattle are agisted or that something is paid for them and their grass, or that they graze in the said park gratuitously by the leave and licence of the lord of Egremund or his agents, whether the said park be closed or not closed, of these tithes* shall be taken *pro rata* for such time as they graze. If the said park should not be closed within four years next ensuing, the abbot and convent of Caldra shall receive and have the tenth fruits issuing from the cattle of the parishioners of St. John's, Bekermet, which shall happen to be depastured in the said park during those four years, paying at the feasts of Pentecost and St. Martin by equal instalments every year of the said four years two silver shillings to the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, York, in recognition of the right and possession of the said abbot and convent and of their church of St. Bees. And the abbot and convent of St. Mary's gave to the abbot and convent of Caldra as an earnest of peace for the future twenty silver marks. This document was done and given at York on Tuesday after the feast of St. Valentine the Martyr (February 14th), in the year of Grace 1326; and given by the abbot and convent of St. Mary's, York, on Sunday in the feast of Blessed Peter which is called

* These were known as tithes of agistment and for guest-cattle taken in.—Bishop Gibson, *Codex*, 706.

Cathedra (February 22nd) ;* and by the abbot of Caldra on Saturday before the feast of Blessed Peter aforesaid ; and by the convent of Caldra on Thursday after the said feast in the year abovesaid.

BETWEEN ESK AND DUDDON.

South Cumberland may be said to take in the country between the Esk and the Duddon, which were also the limits of the seignory of Millom. Mention has already been made of the gift by Godard de Boyvill of the churches of Whicham and Bootle (*Transactions*, N.S., ii., p. 323). Godard de Boyvill (as Godard Dapifer he attests a charter of Ranulf Meschin) was the second lord of Millom. The name of the first lord has not come down to us ; all we know of him is from a charter whereby Godard de Boyvill gave (1135-54) to Furness Abbey a carucate of land named Foss, "as well and freely as his father had held it" (*Charters, Duchy of Lanc.*, Box B., No. 154, quoted in Foster's *Penningtoniana* No. 6, and given in full in Beck's *Annales Furnesienses*, p. 118). John Denton (*Cumberland*, p. 11) rightly calls the first lord "—— Boyvill." Nicolson and Burn (*Cumberland*, p. 10) have named him "Godart," apparently without any authority, and they have been followed by subsequent writers.

Matilda—or Mahald (Maud)—wife of Godard de Boyvill, gave to St. Bees a place called Aynerset or Anderset. This we take to be Annaside, a hamlet in Whitbeck. Matilda's gift was confirmed about 1150 by David, King of Scots,

* The feast of St. Peter (1) as bishop of Antioch is celebrated on the 22nd February, and (2) in commemoration of his bishopric of Rome on 18th January. The first alone seems to be marked in the calendar, and to be the date intended. Thus the date *(in cathedra Sancti Petri)* in the "inspeximus" of Thomas de Senhows (Gosforth, *Transactions*, N.S., ii., 317) should be February 22nd, and not January 18th. There is another, and more important, correction to be made in the same paragraph. "Rent-charge" should be "rent-service." Thomas de Senhows held Flemynghall and other lands (not specified) in Newton of the abbot of St. Mary's at York and the prior and convent of St. Bees by fealty and an annual rent—the same service by which Adam de Newton and his ancestors had held them.

who now held Coupland. It had previously been confirmed by William fitz Duncan, who also gave the monks an iron mine in his land at Chirnaby,* or Thirnaby, and by Adam fitz Suan. Adam fitz Suan held a large tract of country on the east of the river Eden, and was also a large landowner in southern Yorkshire (Prescott, *Wetherhal Reg.*, p. 39). What his *locus standi* with respect to Annaside was is not obvious.

Henry fitz Arthur, the fourth lord of Millom, frequently appears as a witness in the chartulary of St. Bees, but there is no charter from him.

The fifth lord, Adam son of Henry de Millum, perhaps about 1220, gave a saltpan in Millum.

We next come to a convention made between John de Hodelston and Joan his wife and the abbot of St. Mary's, York, concerning Gresholmes.

It seems that John de Hudelston had disseised the abbot of certain pasture land in Botell (Bootle), and given possession to John de Hale. Thereupon the abbot seems to have brought an action against John de Hale before the Justices for its recovery. And John de Hudelston apparently intervened by proctor and agreed to restore the land or its value to the abbot.

The convention is to this effect:—that John de Hodelston and Joan his wife bind themselves to the abbot and convent of St. Mary's at York, that without craft or fraud they will stand firmly by the convention entered into between the prior of St. Bees and themselves touching Gresholmes, between Hesk and Audene (Duddon) in Coupland, that as soon as they should return to Coupland they would cause the said land to be restored to the abbot

* Not Arnaby (Millom) where, according to Mr. Barlow-Massicks, no iron-ore has ever been worked. "As to 'Chirnaby,'" says Mr. W. G. Collingwood, "I note that Thirneby is an old form for Thrimby, Westmorland; and early forms were Tyrneby and Tiernebi (as if from a Norse Tjörnabær—*i.e.*, Tarn-by). This, if the C is for T, might be a similar name, and the site might perhaps be looked for near a tarn. I have seen Arnolby somewhere for Arnaby—*i.e.*, Arnulfs-bær, or Örnulfs; but not necessarily the Domesday man's."

and convent. "Moreover if it happen that I John de Hudelston, by the present writing bound, am not able to restore *casu interveniente* the said land of Gresholmes to the abbot and convent, I shall cause to be transferred to them other land of like value in Coupland or the value of the said land, to wit, Gresholmes. Also if it happen that I shall go the way of all flesh before the fulfilment of this obligation, my wife Joan, who is bound with me therein, will faithfully observe the said obligation, so that what could not be fulfilled by me may be completed by her." This convention was made at York on the eve of the Conversion of St. Paul the Apostle, January 24th, 1251. Among the witnesses are two monks of St. Mary's.

John de Hudleston seems to have gone "the way of all flesh" shortly after the date of this convention. His wife was the heiress of Millom, and she appears as his widow in a confirmation-charter which she gave to the monks of Holme Cultram, the date of which cannot be long after 1251. This charter is quoted in Jefferson's *Allerdale above Derwent*, p. 138, where the lady Joan is erroneously described as the widow of the "above" John de Hodeliston (*Ibid*, p. 137), the date of whose charter as there given is not, from the sheriff, earlier than 1285; he was her son.

It is clear there were two John de Hudlestons, father and son, whom Jefferson (*Allerdale above Derwent*, p. 156), following Burke's *Commoners*, has rolled into one.

About 1270-80, "John son of John de Hudleston" confirmed the grant of his ancester Adam fitz Henry de Millum, and gave land in Millum to St. Bees. This was John de Hudleston II., a distinguished man in his day (Purey-Cust, *Heraldry of York Minster*, p. 207), knight banneret, and leader of the men of Coupland in the Scottish wars and forays of Edward I. (Bain, *Cal. Doc. Scot.*)—"in arms at every season" as the Rhyming Chronicler (Roll of Caerlaverock) describes him.

Cecily, Countess of Albemarle, gave or confirmed to St. Bees, in the time of Abbot Clement (1161-84), four caru-

cates of land between Esc and Duden—viz., Kirkesantan and Haveryg and Thueites, with all their appurtenances, and the service of William de Boivill. This service was the annual render of a half-mark of silver, which William de Boivill acknowledges to be due from him on account of the land which he held of St. Mary and St. Bega—viz., Kirchesantan with its appurtenances; and he apportioned this half-mark as follows:—from his brother Gilbert and his heirs four shillings, from his brother Robert and his heirs two shillings, and from his nephew Richard and his heirs eightpence. These were, no doubt, his under-tenants. A relief was also to be paid by the heirs not exceeding one silver mark.

We hear no more of Kirksanton until November 11th, 1288, when Sir William de Boyville, knight, granted and to farm let for the term of ten years to William, prior of St. Bees, and his successors the manor of Kirkesantan with all its appurtenances in mills, rents, woods, &c., and in all its issues, for a certain sum of money which the prior gave to him.

There are several grants in connection with Bootle, to some only of which we need refer here. About 1270 Agnes, daughter of Michael de Corney, clerk (*Michaelis clerici de Corney*), quitclaimed to the monks of St. Bees the land and meadow in Hyton which she held of them, and which they had by the gift of Adam de Hyton. There is also a quitclaim from Anabilla, another daughter of Michael de Corney.

About 1250-60 Thomas, son of Robert de Seton, gave four acres in Selekere (Selker).

In the first half of the thirteenth century Benedict, son of William, son of Roger de Seton, granted all the land in Seton which had belonged to his mother Gunilda to Henry, son of Thomas, the parson of Botle, to hold by an annual render of a pair of white gloves.

Henry, son of Thomas the parson, gave this land to St. Bees. He also made other gifts, as "Henry, son of Thomas de Botill," and mentions Christiana his mother.

John de Langliuere about 1250 gave an acre of his demesne in Seton, described as in Odo's Croft, and as having belonged to Richard de Moor. John de Langliuer does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere* than in this chartulary, where he is a very frequent witness. He was a knight, and probably he took his name from the district in Corney, which is variously named in old documents Langliferga, Langliferee, Langler, Langlewerbery (*Penningtoniana*, Nos. 2, 5, 41, 45), and Langlewergh (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 10th Report, app., pt. iv., p. 223), and by 1532 has become Langley Park (*Penningtoniana*, No. 86).†

About 1280 Nicholas de Langeton, prior of St. Bees, with the consent of the brethren, granted to Robert de Beverlik, rector of the church of Botil, this acre—which Benedict, son of Aldyche, sometime farmed of them, and had surrendered in full court at St. Bees—to have and to hold to the said Robert and his heirs or assigns, houses of religious and the lords of the fee being excepted, of the priory of St. Bees. Among the witnesses are Mr. William de Langluerye and Roger "of the same place."

Land called Ellerbank, between Wayburthwayt and Brettby (Birkby), was given to St. Bees early in the thirteenth century by Roger fitz Edward. To Alan de Penitone, William fitz Hugh and Roger fitz Edward, by fine at Carlisle, 1st December, 1208 (10 John), Richard de Lucy gave the whole land and fee of Renglas (Ravenglass), which Alan was to hold of Richard de Lucy, and the others under him (*Penningtoniana*, No. 11). William fitz

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* He is witness to a charter in Jefferson's *Allerdale above Derwent*, p. 138.

† Mr. Collingwood remarks:—"I am delighted to find that Gresholmes (Bootle) is named: it throws some light on the old ruins there, I think; and Langlifergh is a very interesting name which I have often noticed before. *Ergh* is, of course, the Irish-Viking equivalent of sæter, chalet; and a Langlif (*Sturlunga-saga*, vii., 22) was the daughter of Harald Maddadarson, who became Earl of Orkney in 1135 at the age of five, and died in 1206 (*Orkneyinga-saga*, Editor's Chronology). So that Langlif is a woman's name of the Irish—or Scotch—Norse in the twelfth century. *Erghs* are often named from women. I have supposed that it was because a lady owned the estate; but possibly it was because the dairy-maid stayed there in summer with the cows, as is done in Norway and the Hebrides to this day. See how it throws light on Pavey Ark—not 'Fiend's altar' but 'Pavia's dairy!'"

Hugh was an early Wayburthwayt; his father was Hugh fitz Efward, or Edward. Roger fitz Edward appears also as Roger de Renglas; there are grants to St. Bees by him and his sons Alan and Alexander of land in Ranglas, whose gifts were confirmed by Alice, widow of Yvo the smith, and she speaks of Roger fitz Edward as her uncle.

We shall only mention one point more, the enfranchisement of a serf. Alan, son of Thomas de Penyton, granted to his uncle Alan de Peninton (about 1270), Simon, son of Adam Le White, his serf (*le quite* nativum meum*), with all his family and all his chattels. And afterwards Alan, son of Alan de Penyton, quitclaimed for ever, for the salvation of his soul, to the prior of St. Bees the said Simon, "just as Alan fitz Thomas de Penyton, my nephew, gave him to me." And he was thenceforth free.

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* The Rev. James Wilson, of Dalston, writes:—"I think *le quite nativum meum* in the Pennington deed is the original of our surname White. It was a common way of knowing 'natives' or serfs by physical characteristics. Le White often occurs as a surname in local deeds as the equivalent of Albus."

ART. VI.—*Stone Implements found at Braystones, Cumberland, with remarks on probable Neolithic settlements in the neighbourhood.* By W. H. WATSON, F.G.S., F.C.S.

Read at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

THE rough stone celt (Fig. I.) and the quern (Fig. II.) were found by me near Braystones, in the parish of St. Bees. They are similar to others found previously

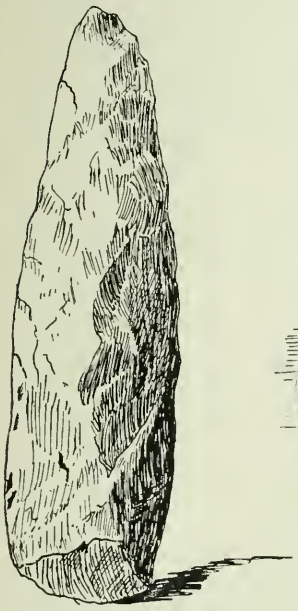

FIG. I.

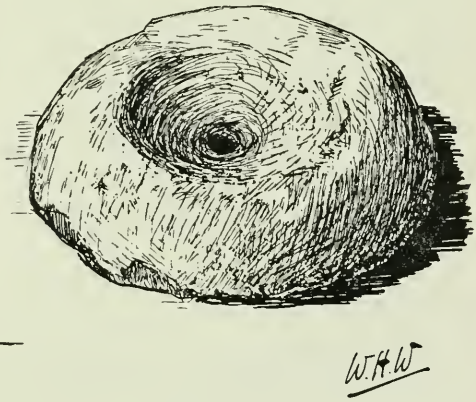

FIG. II.

(1871) at Ehenside or Gibb Tarn, about 1½ miles distant, by the explorations of Mr. R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A., and the then tenant of the land, Mr. Quayle. The stone axe (Fig. I.) is, however, unpolished; as probably in the early process of preparation by chipping. This specimen, 10

inches long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches at widest part, I found four years ago (1898), though not previously described. It was partly exposed in some alluvial earth which had recently been dug up in deeping an open drain about four feet below the surface of the flat, rather boggy, land known as "the Boggles," situate three-quarters of a mile south of Braystones, and a similar distance from Sellafield.

The quern produced, 10 inches in diameter by 4 inches deep, with hole passing through it, was found in June, 1896, partly overgrown by rough grass at the eastern extremity of the same marshy land, and near the cutting of the Cleator and Egremont Railway, which adjoins the present boundary of "the Boggles." This quern is of exactly similar kind both in size, shape, and nature of stone to several querns found at Gibb Tarn, referred to above (R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A.).

As these "sporadic" specimens produced to-day bear much resemblance and some reference to the famous discoveries at the adjacent site of Ehenside in 1891, and Mr. Darbishire has kindly permitted me to show at this meeting several original photographs which he has recently presented to my collection of antiquarian objects at the Victoria Tower at Braystones. Among them is an excellent illustration of the particular stone celt, as found in its original wooden handle, one of the only two specimens yet known to have been found with heft attached.

I would point out from the topographical and geological conditions existing at "the Boggles," the (former) Ehenside Tarn, and in the surrounding Seascale district, there can be little doubt that by well-directed inquiry there would be found here yet unearthed a wealth of Neolithic remains. Especially over a particular area along the sea coast from St. Bees, and bounded by the valley of the Ehen as far as Sellafield, thence by the fells above Calder, Ponsonby, and Gosforth, and certainly as far as the river

Irt below Drigg, I have already pointed out (Presidential Address, Whitehaven Scientific Association, 1899) there may be here extensive remains of Neolithic Man. Dispersed over this area are gentle hills, with isolated depressions containing tarns or the remains of similar pools, now boggy places or marshy land (as at Ehenside) suggestive of habitations or lake dwellings. Thus, beginning at Nethertown (parish of St. Bees), we have (1) Nethertown Tarn or Lady Moss; (2) Silver Tarn; (3) Hartlica Moss; (3*a*) site of Gibb Tarn explored; (4) Braystones Tarn; (5) Lanthern Tarn; (6) Hollas Moss; (7) Harnsey Moss, (8) Church Moss, near St. Bridget's, Beckermet; (9) Boggles, about 40 or 50 acres, chiefly marshy land; (10) Sellafield Tarn, about 10 acres; (11) Hall Senna Moss, Gosforth, and others. These are all extremely suggestive of probable Neolithic settlements; and, I think, Nos. 2, 4, 5, 10, and 11 especially.

ART. VII.—*Early Brampton Presbyterianism, 1662-1780.* By HENRY PENFOLD.

Communicated at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

IN concluding his paper on the above (these *Transactions*, vol. viii.), the late Rev. H. Whitehead refers to Robert Wight, A.M., thus:—"He is far too important a man to be dealt with at the fag end of a paper. He deserves, and with the permission of the Editor shall have, a paper to himself." A desire to continue Mr. Whitehead's labour of love has led us to try and, if possible, complete and supplement the historical sketch so ably commenced by him.

Presbyterian Nonconformity in Brampton—and, indeed, in England—claims a separate existence since 1662. For long before the Puritans had been members of the established church. But in that year was passed the Act of Uniformity,* by which Act it was sought to enforce a uniform worship and church government. Those clergymen who refused to conform to the principles of this Act were ejected or deprived of their livings, and hindered from preaching or even teaching under pain of three months' imprisonment. In consequence of this Act more than two thousand ministers were ejected from their benefices, and thus originated Nonconformity, or Protestant Dissent. Of these two thousand, no less than twenty-five Cumberland† and six Westmorland clergymen were deprived or ejected from their livings. These few prefatory remarks are necessary for us to understand properly the ecclesiastical position at 1662.

* A full account of the Act of Uniformity and its requirements may be found in Drysdale's *History of the Presbyterians in England*, pp. 381-389.

† It is rather curious that the various histories of the county frequently omit, when giving lists of the clergy, the names of the ejected ministers. For convenience I include them here.

EJECTED MINISTERS (CUMBERLAND).

Addingham	Daniel Broadley
Bowness	John Saxton
Brampton	Nathaniel Burnand
Bridekirk	George Benson
Carlisle	Comfort Starr
Cockermouth	George Larkham
Croglin	John Rogers
Crosby	John Collyer
Crosthwaite	James Cave
Edenhall	Thomas Tailor
Egremont	—— Halsell
Greystock	Richard Gilpin, M.D.
Hutton	John Jackson
St. John's Chapel	James Carr
Kirkandrews	Thomas Courtney
Kirklevington	—— Hooper
Lazonby	Simon Atkinson
Melmerby	William Hopkins
Penrith	Roger Baldwin
Plumbland	Gawen Egglesfield
Sowerby	Peter Jackson
Thursby	John Carmitchel
Torpenhow	Thomas Turner
Wetheral	—— Wilcox

George Nichols, Anthony Sleigh, and Daniel King preached at various places in the county contrary to the Uniformity Act.

EJECTED MINISTERS (WESTMORLAND).

Askham	Christopher Langhorne
Barton	Timothy Roberts
Crosby on the Hill	Christopher Jackson
Halton Chapel	—— Greenwood
Kendal	John Wallis
Staveley Chapel	Gabriel Camelford

The above names are extracted from Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorial*, Palmer's Edition, vols. 1 and 3.

Nathaniel Burnand was vicar of Brampton till August 2nd, 1662. He was one of the twenty-five Cumberland

vicars who were ejected. There can be no doubt that a considerable number of members seceded from the parish church with Burnand. Their meetings were held in secret, as at Cockermouth.* Unfortunately very scanty records of this period exist—*i.e*, 1662-1672. Our one scrap of information regarding it is an extract from the Episcopal Registry at Carlisle :—

1665 Absolutio Magistri Nathan Burnand Sept. 8.

This release from excommunication suggests many interesting questions. The Bishop of Carlisle at this date was Edward Rainbow, who himself had been ejected from the Mastership of Magdalen College, Oxford, by the Rump Parliament, and so may have had some regard for poor ejected Burnand, an alumnus of the same college, and perhaps a brother graduate. (See Appendix).

In 1672 we find the first real documentary evidence of the existence of the Brampton Presbyterian Congregation —evidence interesting and important, which had not when Mr. Whitehead wrote been discovered. It is from the Indulgence Book† of Charles II., in the Public Record Office, of date 1672. In this book are the lists of certain places which were allowed or licensed as meeting-houses, and certain persons licensed as teachers or ministers. Here are the Brampton entries :—

License to Natha Burnam of Branton in Cumberland to be a Pr teacher Sept 5. 1672. The howse of William Atkinson Brampton in Cumberland Pr. Sept 5. 1672.

From these entries we see that Nathaniel Burnand was the first minister of Brampton Presbyterian Congregation. There are one or two facts come to hand regarding

* For particulars of this period (1662-1672) in a Dissenting Cumberland congregation, see Lewis' *Hist. Cockermouth Cong. Church*, chaps. i.-v.

† The two volumes of Registration of Preaching Licenses under the Indulgence of 1672 have since Mr. Whitehead wrote come to light in the Public Record Office. They are lettered on the back "Preaching Licenses," and are of great historical interest and value. For a list of the Cumberland licenses, see Ferguson's *History of the Diocese of Carlisle*, pp. 152-153.

Burnand worthy of note. The first is extracted from the *Alumni Oxonienses* :—

Burnand Nathaniel of Berks, cler. fil., Trinity College matriculated 12 Nov. 1619 aged 15, BA 7 July 1623, MA from Magdalen 1 July 1626.

We find from this some particulars of Burnand's education. We find out from the dates given his age when ejected and when licensed, showing to us the pathetic fact that he was aged 68 when in 1672 he was allowed to gather his little band of Presbyterian followers in public. Burnand's career was full of changes. In March, 1642, we find him because of his religious opinions committed to Newcastle Gaol, whence he is released in the same year. And the month after he evidently takes up the vicarage of Ovingham in Northumberland, for we find from the House of Commons journals, also in the Public Record Office, the following :—

1642. April 19. Whereas Nath. Burnand an orthodox divine out of his desire to advance the preaching of the Gospel in the county of Northumberland and being chosen by the parishioners of Ovingham to preach there is willing (though to his great charge) to remove his family thither ; this house doth very well approve of the good and pious intention of the said Mr. Burnand.

Such was the fickleness of the times—one month in gaol, the next thanked by the High Court of Parliament ! Another sidelight is thrown on Burnand's character by the following extract from a letter in the Public Record Office :—

Advice presented to the committee of Northumberland by the Rev. Thos. Walfall and the Rev[d] Nathaniel Burnand concerning the scarcity of godly and able ministers of the gospel and the need for speedily sending the Directory* to the several ministers, that so the

* *The Directory of Public Worship*, issued by the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and passed by Parliament for public use, March 13th, 1645.

Common Prayer Book may be called in, seeing it is and hath been the nurse of an idle and non-preaching ministry.—Reference, vol. N, v. 57.

From Ovingham, Burnand evidently removed to Castle Carrock. In no list of rectors of that parish that we have seen does his name occur. But from the Public Record Office we have the following extract from an "Account of receipts and payments, dated 1659, under Cumberland"—

Mr Nath Burnand minister of Castle Carrock by order 10 July 1656 for one year due Xmas 1657. £30.

These details, though not directly connected with Brampton, are set down as showing the gravity of the position taken up by Burnand and his associates of that day; and justify the opinion of the late Chancellor Ferguson that Burnand was the great apostle of local seventeenth-century Presbyterian Nonconformity.

How long after 1672 Burnand laboured at Brampton it is impossible now to say. Calamy says that from Brampton he removed to Harwich, thence to London, where he died in poverty. (Calamy's *Nonconformist Memorial*, Palmer's Edition, vol. i., 296.)

It is here opportune that we draw attention to William Atkinson, who boldly applied and had his house licensed for meetings of a "fanatical" character. In the old churchyard on the right hand on entering is a large tombstone inscribed in large letters:—

William Atkinson Glover, 1684.

It is more than probable that this was the leader of the Presbyterians in whose house would be gladly read, the first Sunday after receiving it, the King's license,* allowing them to meet and worship according to their conscienses. There is a tradition given in a paper written by the Rev.

* For some further particulars regarding this license, see Lewis' *History of Cockermouth Congregational Church*, p. 53.

George Brown, LL.D. (but ascribed by Mr. Whitehead to the Rev. P. R. Crole), in 1854, that the first meeting-house was near the site of the Old Brewery. Here, then, probably William Atkinson lived, and the congregation worshipped, till his death in 1684; when, we are led to believe, they migrated to the meeting-house at the Scotch Arms, about which we shall have something to say subsequently.

Mr. Whitehead, in his paper, was unable to give us the names of ministers between Burnand and Kincaid; and even about Kincaid the information given us is far from complete. However, we are able to fill up the gap; and also to give some particular information about Kincaid. The first settled minister after Burnand of whom we have any evidence was the Rev. James Noble, M.A., who was ordained as minister of the Presbyterian Congregation at Brampton in 1688. He only continued two years, removing thence to Yetholm, from which place he again removed to Eckford, where he continued till his death, August 17th, 1739, in the 83rd year of his age and 51st of his ministry. (*Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*,* vol. i., p. 358.) Mr. Noble was altogether a notable man. A warm sympathiser with the rights of the people in electing their own ministers, he was one of the forty-two famous protesters against the decision of the Scottish General Assembly, which led to the well-known secession out of which sprang the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. (Mackelvie's *Annals of the U.P. Church*, p. 378.)

We now come to deal with an exceedingly interesting character, John Kincaid—variously spelt Kingcaid, Kinkaid, Kincade, and Kingcade. Our first introduction to Kincaid is his settlement as minister over the parish of

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* *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, annals of the Scottish Church, by the eccentric Dr. Hew Scott, in six vols., pub. Edin. 1866-71. This monumental work, invaluable to the student, gives a notice more or less complete of every minister who held office in the Established Church of Scotland between 1560-1839. On the score of exhaustiveness and accuracy, it is unequalled in ecclesiastical biography.

Terregles, Dumfries, in 1668; he was ousted by the rabble at the revolution, and deprived by the Act of the Scottish Parliament (1690) restoring the Presbyterian ministry. (*Fasti*, p. 398.) It is probable that Kincaid had conformed to the very modified episcopacy which existed in Scotland (1660-1688). He had obtained his degree at Glasgow in 1659, and was therefore no longer a young man when he settled at Terregles, where he must have continued only a short time, as the disturbances known to students of Scottish history as "rabblings" took place at and immediately after Christmas, 1688. At Terregles he was likely to know something of the adjacent Cumberland border, and on Mr. Noble's removal from Brampton he crossed over and took his place there. While John Kincaid was at Brampton (1690-1708), the vicar was John Cockburn (1692-1702). Some friendship evidently existed between the two, for we find them joining together in a society for the bettering of the moral tone of the people—the dissenting minister and church vicar presiding at the meetings in turn. This, however, brought the thunders of Archdeacon Nicolson on Cockburn's head. After admonishing him, he finishes up the communication by telling him that wise men "would beware of doing anything that does so much as look like the anabaptistical error which is therein condemned"—*i.e.*, in the twelfth canon. (*Nicolson's Letters*, John Nickolls & Son, 1809, p. 145.) The attitude of Nicolson to the Dissenters of the time cannot be called at all conciliatory—not, however, on account of their religious beliefs. The idea of the Episcopalian divines of his time was that dissent stood for opposition to the State, and almost rebellion against the law; therefore, we see such champions of the Establishment as Nicolson in open antagonism to the Dissenters. It is an extremely curious and interesting circumstance that one of the Presbyterian ministers of Brampton should have been also one of the "rabbled

curates*" from Scotland, presenting us with the spectacle of a clergyman being an Episcopalian in Presbyterian Scotland and a Presbyterian in Episcopalian England. Whatever Kincaid's real religious opinions were he cannot be accused of being anything but catholic and broad-minded, for he took whatever help he could get and from whatever source, for we find he was the recipient of an annual grant from the Congregational Fund Board,† London, from 1696 to 1704, and perhaps later, for the books from 1704 to 1736 are missing. During this period it is interesting to observe how the little band clung together, and even grew under the violent and persecuting statutes—*e.g.*, the Conventicle, Test and Five Mile Acts, passed subsequent to the Act of Uniformity, and directed with such unmerciful severity against the Dissenters. It is exceedingly probable that the Royal Coat of Arms‡ now on the walls of the church was first placed there in Kincaid's day, for it was about the close of the seventeenth century when they were ordered by the Privy Council. Mr. Whitehead tells us of Kincaid's death, and the unlicensed meeting-house of Leonard Deane. Before, however, leaving Kincaid, one would wish to know how he clung so tenaciously to Presbyterianism in Brampton, being presented to the Bishop by the churchwardens for baptising and preaching in "unlycensed places." To my

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* Some explanation of this term may be necessary. By a "rabbled curate" is meant a minister or preacher who consented to take the place of the Presbyterian minister who was deprived of his living for not accepting the enforced Episcopal usages. The supplanter being, therefore, very obnoxious was habitually rabbled—*i.e.*, mobbed or hustled by an unlawful rabble, and hindered from carrying out the prescribed but obnoxious form of service.

† The congregation for many years after this time received help from the Congregational Fund, London. The books show that such help was received from 1736-1819. For this and much other kindly help, I am indebted to the Rev. T. G. Crippen, Congregational Library, London.

‡ The Royal Coat of Arms was put up by the authority of the Privy Council, who were clothed with such and similar powers by the general Uniformity Acts; but who, of course, acted often capriciously, requiring it in one case and not in another—the most sturdy and outstanding congregations being made the chief victims. In just one other old Dissenting place of worship, as far as I know, does it still hang—that is in Gosport Congregational Church, where it was hung in 1696.

mind, the answer is that when he married Ann or Agnes Bell of Broom Hill, in the parish of Denton, he married into a thoroughly Presbyterian family—a family, too, of some consequence, for besides owning and farming their estate they were possessed of property in Brampton.

Kincaid's successor was James Campbell, A.M., Edinburgh. He was ordained at Brampton by the Presbyterian ministers of Cumberland, August 10th, 1709. (Scott's *Fasti*, vol. i., p. 528.) Here he stayed only two years, for in 1711 we find him called to Legerwood in the presbytery of Lauder, where he was duly admitted November 8th, 1711, from which church he was deposed from the exercise of the office of the holy ministry seven years later for drunkenness and scandalous conduct.

We now come to deal with Robert Wight, one of the most important ministers of Brampton Presbyterian Church. The following data regarding him from Scott's *Fasti* will be found useful :—

Robert Wight, son of William Wight, tenant in Glengelt, was laureated at the University of Edinburgh 12 May 1703. Licensed by the Presbytery of Earlston 22 March 1709. Ordained as minister over the Presbyterian Congregation at Brampton 20 Aug 1712. Presented by Charles Duke of Queensberry and Dover to Torthorwald 22 Oct 1724 Recalled to Brampton 30 May 1725 Called to St Michaels 13 July 1732 and admitted assistant and successor 30 Nov. 1732 Rebuilt St Michaels 1747. Died 4th Decr 1762 in his 80th Year and 53rd of his ministry. He married 3rd Nov. 1724 Jean daughter of Alexander Robesone minister of Tinwald and had two sons and six daughters.—Scott's *Fasti*, p. 570; *Ibid*, p. 602; also McDowall's *Memorials of St. Michael's, Dumfries*, p. 363.

Dr. Brown tells us in his short paper that when Wight came to Brampton the meeting-house was on the site of the Scotch Arms Inn. Now this house, with its ancient hooded doorway, bears witness to the fact that it must have been existing earlier than Wight's ordination. The title-deeds say it was erected 1674. It is more probable that the meeting-house stood in the yard, for to this day

an old building stands here,* now used as a warehouse, which in itself has slight evidence of an ecclesiastical use. It is entered by an outside staircase, and has in it two round-headed windows. What more likely than that Leonard Deane, an early friend of the congregation now established in his new inn, should, on the death of William Atkinson in 1684, have rigged up this room as the "unlycensed meeting house." Indeed, it indicates some preference for Scotland and Scotchmen, and perhaps for Scotch worship, that Leonard Deane named his new house the Scotch Arms. In this connection, it is interesting to remark that the Presbyterian Church at Brampton is still locally known as the Scotch Chapel. Here, then, Wight came, and was ordained as minister of this congregation. A list of members admitted previous to Wight's time is given by Mr. Whitehead. (*Transactions*, vol. viii., part ii., p. 358.) There were four elders and sixty members, not by any means a small congregation when we consider the bigoted strictness which in those days characterised the examination of applicants for admission to "Ye Sacrament of ye Lord's Supper." For every member we may safely put down two adherents, making a total congregation of, say, two hundred. Mr. Wight held his first meeting of Session on Tuesday, 28th August, 1712. From this date onwards we have the records beautifully written in his own handwriting down to September 1st, 1732, immediately before his removal to Dumfries. A short examination of them will give a clear idea as to how affairs were managed at Brampton, as probably in all the Cumberland Presbyterian congregations in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The records are headed :—

A REGISTER OF THE SESSION'S PROCEEDINGS SINCE AUGT. 26, 1712.

26 Aug., 1713. Agreed that Ye Sacrament of Ye Lords Supper should be Administered to the members of this Cong' on the

* The old building has during the writing of this paper undergone alteration, the old round-headed windows being removed and ordinary square-top sash windows substituted.

23rd of this month and that intimation therof be made by the minister from the Pulpit the next Lords day being the 9th inst Agreed also that five quartts of good clarett with five or six loaves of fine wheat bread be brought from Newcastle by John Smith the Carrier.

Regularly afterwards we find entries such as the above. They frequently also agreed that "the reparations to the meetinghouse be paid for out of the collections." There are frequent entries showing the care that was exercised in admission of members, *e.g.* :—

24 May, 1717. This day the Session being constituted by prayer Mary Proctor was examined in order to her admission to Ye Sacrament was approved of and exhorted to diligence in reading and holiness of life.

22 May, 1720. This day Simon Ewart and Jean Ewart his wife were examined of their knowledge in Ye principles of Religion and asked if they had the worship of God within their families and were in charitie with all mankind and having satisfied the Session in these were admitted to Ye Sacrament of Ye Lords Supper being exhorted to renew their Covenant with God before they approach his Holy Table.

This admission is noteworthy. Simon Ewart became a leading elder, and after his day his son Simon occupied that position. Other members of the Ewart family were office-bearers, their tenure of office occupying considerably over a century.* Special care was taken in the admission of candidates who had seceded from the Established Church. Of this we will give a couple of instances :—

22 May, 1720. The Session being constituted by prayer Catherine Scaiffe and Jean Harding were asked what reasons they had for leaving the Church of England and having satisfied the session in these were exhorted to renew their covenant with God

* The Ewarts are buried in the churchyard of Lanercost, in which yard are erected over a dozen tombstones to their memory, on one of which is their armorial bearings. One of the most noteworthy of the family was Major-General David Ewart who, in the memorable retreat from Afghanistan in 1842, was killed by the natives in the Tezeen Pass. Out of 16,500 who commenced the retreat, only one survivor got through to tell the tale—a disaster unparalleled in modern history.

deliberately and live up thereto for the future and having promised so to do were admitted.

15 June, 1724. The Session being constituted by prayer John Noble was examined as to his reasons in coming from the Church of England over to the dissenter's way of Worship and was afterwards exhorted to be diligent in reading in prayer and in watchfulness.

The appointment of office-bearers was gone about also in a thoroughly careful and methodical fashion. We give one instance of this :—

9 June, 1727. Mr Robert Wight minister Edward Smith and Thomas Hetherington deacons considering the necessity there was for more deacons spoke of several and at length agreed to deal with John Ewart Simon Ewart Joseph Blenkinsop Thomas Jackson and William Armstrong. After Conference with them these three were prevailed with Simon Ewart Walter Armstrong and Thomas Jackson to undergo examination and were accordingly examined and approved. And their edict was served June 11 (i.e. read from the pulpit to the congregation).

18 June, 1727. In regard some of the congregation were absent last Lords Day when intimation was made to ordain the three above named persons and in regard it was suggested that some sick persons had something to object the return of the edict was delayed.

25 June, 1727. No objection being made against the above named persons, they were ordained after forenoon sermon in public. Eodem die post meridiem. After prayer Simon Ewart Thomas Jackson and Walter Armstrong were received to be members of the Session.

The marvellous strictness with which cases of discipline were dealt with is exceedingly noticeable. On November 20th, 1717, the Session meet, and take into consideration evil reports of drunkenness and immorality against Margaret Nicholson. They appoint David Bell "to summon her to appear before them in the meetinghouse on this day sen-night to satisfie them concerning the offence." On November 27th David Bell reports "he summoned her personally. But she not compearing the Session ordered her to be summoned pro secundo."

15th December, 1717.—David Bell again reports her unwillingness to attend. The Session agree that the minister with one of the elders should "speak to her privately and hear her reasons why she appear not and to deal with her to appear before them and be ingenuous."

December 22nd, 1717.—Mr. Wight reported that he went to the house with David Bell, but could not gain admittance. He went himself a second and third time when he had an opportunity of speaking with her, and admonishing her for her non-appearance, and "deals with her to compear befor the Session this day." But she not appearing the Session ordered David Bell to summon her to appear before them "pro third upon ye 29th of December with certification that if she not appear they will hold her contumacious."

December 29th, 1717.—She appears before the Session, and after a rigid examination, in which she admits being drunk but denies the immorality, the Session appoint her to wait on Mr. Wight and appear before them next Lord's day.

January 5th, 1718.—The Session meet, and after much deliberation call her into the room. For both offences they rebuke her, "and exhorted her for the future to walk soberly and circumspectly, which she could in the Grace of God." She promises to reform, and after being re-admitted to all the privileges of membership the incident is closed with prayer. Truly a wonderful amount of care and long-suffering were bestowed on such cases. The case we have given lasts about fourteen months. Other cases of discipline are fully dealt with in the records.

Bound in the same book is "A Register of Monies (and receipts for the same) collected upon briefs in the Dissenting Congregatione att Brampton from July sixth one thousand seven hundred and twelve." By way of introduction Wight gives that portion of the Act of Parliament "for collecting charitie money upon briefs by letters patent so far as it relates to ministers church

wardens and chapel wardens teachers and preachers in separate congregations and to every person qt hath taught in Quakers meetings." These briefs were issued, as we see, by Government, and should a preacher, &c., "refuse or neglect to do any the matters or things required shall forfeit twenty pounds to be recovered by action of debt bill plaint or information for the benefit of the sufferers to whom the bill is granted." Two or three instances may be given :—

Brampton, Aug. 10, 1712. Then read in Ye Dissenting Cong Brief for Little Buckill Church loss by fire 1270 lbs and upward.
Read also the Brief for West Tilbury Church Damage 1117 lb and upwards.
Aug. 29, 1712. Then collected for these two Briefs the soume of ... ... 00 . 01 . 02
whereof to ye first was given 8d and to ye second 6d.

Here is an entry of local interest* :—

Aug. 20, 1732. Then read in ye Cong of Protestant Dissenters in Brampton the Brief for Abby Landercoast Church in the County of Cumberland Charge 1100 lb and upwards.
collected the sume of ... ... 00 . 01 . 02

It is curious to note a small Dissenting congregation at Brampton collecting for churches all over the land. Under these briefs they collected for all manner of afflicted persons, for losses by storm or inundation or by robbery ; but the great mass of the briefs have reference to losses by fire—half of the whole fifty-five collected in Wight's time being for churches, while sometimes they seem to have even been for the erection of steeples. The sums collected were, of course, small—only in one case exceeding 5s.—

* Some account of the repairs executed at the Abbey with the fund thus raised may be found in *Lanercost Priory*, by C. J. Ferguson, H. Whitehead, and G. Baldwin Brown (Thurnam ; 1893, p. 26).

though the amount must be estimated according to the value of money in those days, not as it comes in our own. Nor small as the contributions were, were they probably less in proportion than the collections taken elsewhere; for we are told that though the contributions were generally small, taken in the aggregate they may have risen to a considerable sum when called in from the whole country.

The general expenses of the congregation are kept apart from the briefs, and are headed "A Register belonging to the Dissenting Congregation att Brampton 1712." Some of the more interesting items are given :—

July 17, 1716. Then given to Thomas Hetherington in Milton Hill for one hundred and eighty four bottles of thatch for the meeting house	...	00 . 15 . 00
For spelks two hundred and twenty seven	...	00 . 00 . 08
To a thatcher for six days	...	00 . 06 . 00
To one for serving him five days	...	00 . 03 . 00

This was the meeting-house provided by Leonard Deane. The Hetherington family continued in connection with this congregation considerably over 150 years.

Dec. 3, 1716. Then given to Charles Evans barbarously used by the Turks the sum of	...	00 . 00 . 08
Mar. 8, 1717. Then given to John Hamilton and John Williams who had been three years slaves in Barbary the sum of	...	00 . 01 . 00
July 7, 1717. Then given to George Perkins of Ravenstonedale the sum of	...	00 . 01 . 06
Aug. 11, 1719. Then given to George Harris Wm Johnstone and George Clousie who were struck blind in Ireland by a thunderbolt the sum of	...	00 . 00 . 06
June 7, 1720. Then given for two cups ...	...	00 . 03 . 00
April 11, 1721. Then given as was collected Oct. 9, 1720, towards building a meeting house in Kendal the sum of	...	00 . 17 . 4½
Dec. 19, 1721. For twenty three panes of Quarry glass, one square and putting in and for fifteen bars, soalder in the windows of the meeting house paid to Thos. Crabin the sum of	...	00 . 02 . 09

The panes of quarry glass were possibly the "bull's eyes" out of the middle of sheets of old crown glass, frequently used in old-fashioned lead lights on the score of strength.

April 2, 1722. Then given out of collections towards purchasing Ambrose Atkinson's house to be a meeting house ... ... 03 . 06 . 09
Writing enrolling and expenses in buying the sum of ... ... 00 . 03 . 10

These two entries are exceedingly interesting, referring as they do to the site of the church built in 1722, and used from that date to 1854—now used as the Central Hall.

Dec. 16, 1723. To Wm Murray for old meeting house rent and greenhue ... ... 00 . 00 . 03
July 18, 1728. To Thomas Hodgson member in ye congregation at Penruddock recommended by several ministers ... ... 00 . 06 . 00

The collections are noted Sunday after Sunday with the same particular care. At random we take the following examples :—

July 30, 1728. Then collected being preparation day the sum of ... ... 00 . 02 . 07

The preparation was and still is held on the Friday before the sacrament.

Sept. 1, 1728. Then collected the sum of being Sacrament day ... ... 00 . 19 . 10
Dec. 2, 1728. Given by Peter Atkins his child being baptized on a week day ... ... 00 . 00 . 06

The sixpence seems to have been a customary offering for baptism when it was not held at the ordinary meeting-house service.

Dec. 13, 1728. Given by Hugh Adams, shoemaker having been nine Sabbaths absent ... ... 00 . 00 . 02
Jan. 5, 1729. Then collected for meetinghouse at Huddlesceugh the sum of ... ... 00 . 15 . 01

The Huddlesceugh congregation is now in the hands of the Congregationalists. It is now known as the Park Head congregation, but represents an old Presbyterian congregation, the minister of which was ejected from Lazonby in 1662. Every six months the accounts and "depursements" were made up in the presence of the Session, the balance in hand being entrusted to one of their number. Frequently there are entries such as the following :—

Sept. 29, 1732. Received from Walter Armstrong for irish halfpennies and bad copper ... ... 00 . 01 . 06

We might now shortly examine the baptismal register. The register is headed "A Register of the names of Children baptized in the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters att Brampton Since Augt. 24, 1712." The register contains entries of all the old North-east Cumberland families—Atkinsons, Blenkinsops, Bells, Hetheringtons, Armstrongs, Grahams, Ewarts, and Forsters abound. One or two registers we extract to show how methodically everything was done.

Sept. 27, 1719. This day John Milliken a poor man had a child baptized whose name was Mary according to the parents, who came from North Briton and begging throw the County was three quarters old.

July 30, 1727. Then baptized Simon lawful son to Simon Ewart in ye town and parish of Brampton.

Mr. Wight's own children are entered in this manner :—

Nov. 27, 1730. Then baptized William* son of Mr. Robert Wight Min^{r} to the Dissenting Congregation by himself before the Congregation.

There are two very interesting entries regarding the baptism of Quakers. We extract one :—

---

* William Wight, afterwards a very distinguished professor in Glasgow University. He occupied at different times the chairs of Ecclesiastical History and Divinity. Died July 29th, 1782.

Nov. 19, 1728. Robert Johnstone journey man to Jacob Hope weaver in Brampton born of parents commonly called Quakers was instructed in the principles of the Christian Religion and after he had given an Account of his Knowledge and made profession of his faith befor the Deacons and engaged to be a faithful Servant to God all the Dayes of His life was baptized privately in the meetinghouse aged at this time about nineteen years.

Before leaving the baptismal register we note the wide area covered by the entries—Bewcastle, Stapleton, Kirklevington (Kirklinton), Kirkcammock, Haltwhistle, Simonburn (North Tyne), Wetheral, Cumrew, and Geltstone (Geltsdale). From Castlecarrock there are a great number of entries—possibly the Presbyterian influence of Burnand was not yet dead.

The financial system of the congregation was exceedingly simple. The income of the minister was provided by means of subscriptions, any available endowments, and possibly gifts in kind from the better-off portion of the people. One source of income was a grant from the Central Fund (whether Presbyterian or Congregational in London we do not know) in London. This we find from the Evans' MSS. list,* made between 1717-1729, in the Williams' Library, London:—

1718 Brampton market town £8 or £6 allowed from Presbyterian Fund. Minister Robert Wight 180 hearers 1 county voter 6 gentlemen. Generally poor tenants of the Earl of Carlisle.

This extract shows that the bulk of the congregation were poor, though with money and influence at their head. Who was the county voter? It must have been Isaac Deane, proprietor of one of the leading hotels, and treasurer, as we have seen, of the congregation. The six gentlemen, we doubt not, were yeomen of the stamp

* This list, printed in James' *Legislation on Presbyterian Chapels*, gives an account of Dissenting Churches; also furnishes us with the fact that in Cumberland at this time are 11 Presbyterian Chapels, 3 Baptist Chapels, 1 Congregational Chapel, and 20 Quakers' meetings with 2000 hearers.

of David Bell, of Broom Hill; or, at least, persons in a comparative state of affluence. We may make another extract from Evans:—

Wardrew, in the water drinking time. £5 allowed from the Presbyterian fund.

Wardrew, with its beautiful old mansion, stands one mile higher up the Irthing than Gilsland, but close to the wonderful spa. Here Wight preached in 1713. How long before Presbyterian ministers had preached we cannot tell, but we know that Presbyterian services were still continued there by twelve Cumberland Presbyterian ministers jointly "in the water drinking time" until the middle of the nineteenth century (*Haltwhistle Presbyterian Messenger*, June, 1902). That Wight's position at Brampton was one of comfort we cannot doubt, for we find him leaving the parish church of Torthorwald to return to Brampton. It is curious there is hardly any notice of this removal and return in the records. Only one slight entry:—

May 24, 1727. To Thomas Raillton for entertaining some of the ministers during vacancy ... ... 01 . 04 . 00

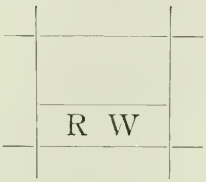
But though scarcely any notice is taken of the vacancy in the records, we have a most interesting document still extant. It is Wight's call to return to Brampton. As calls of this date are rare, we give it in full:—

Brampton May 30. 1725.

We undersubscribed Elders & Members of the Presbyterian Congregation att Brampton taking to our strong consideration the great Loss we Sustain and groan under by being destitute of a Gospell minister Amongst us through the Transportation of you Mr Robert Wight Lately our pastour from us to the parish of Torthorwald and being well Assured from Our own experience for a Long time while you Laboured Amongst us in the work of the Ministry of your piete prudence and suitableness to our Capabilities have unanimously agreed to Invite Call and Intreat you the said Mr Robert Wight to return to us and undertake the office of the

Ministry amongst us. . . . . We by these presents . . . . beseech you to Except the office of pastour over us and the charge of our souls and we hope that After Mature Deliberation on our present Desolate condition and the danger that may redound to the Presbyterian Interest in our Countrie through our being kept longer vacant you will find this our call orderly proceeded with and Except of as a Clear Call from God to return to us. And upon you Accepting hereof we sincerely promise you all dutifull respects faithfulness and Incouragement due to a Minister of the Gospel from our several stations and relations
In witness whereof we have subscribed this written by Andrew Wilson Jn Patties Hill day and place foregoing.

The signatures, unfortunately, have been cut off; probably for Wight to retain in his own hands. We cannot but admire, however, the quaint expressions of respect and love exhibited by the congregation for its devoted "pastour." As we have already noted, during Wight's incumbency there was built a meeting-house, now used as the Central Hall. This building remained in the condition Wight left it till 1851 when it was remodelled, only the outer walls being left standing. In one of the new windows is still preserved lead glazing cut out of the old windows with Wight's initials :—



There are one or two other inscribed remains in the shape of old seat backs, which it is evident were the private property of members of the congregation. The seats have been straight-backed, and made of hard oak. They are inscribed in beautiful old letters :—

D B 1716

Probably David Bell, of Broomhill.

I A 1724

John Armstrong, of Brampton.

A R

No date, owner unknown. Probably some member of the Rutherford family, who in the early days were prominent supporters.

R B : N H 1702

Richard Bell and possibly his wife, whose name is unknown.

I H I N 1718

John Hind and his wife, unknown. The Hinds are an exceedingly old yeoman family of Greenwell, near Brampton. They still own the ancestral estate in that picturesque hamlet, with John Hind's initials over the front door of the house.

The dates 1702, 1716, and 1718 are prior to the erection of Wight's meeting-house. They would bring them from Deane's rooms in the Scotch Arms yard, of which, as we have already seen, the congregation paid the Lord's rent and greenhue.

We might glance for a moment at another scrap of information before leaving Wight. Chancellor Waugh in 1730 took a religious census of most of the parishes of Cumberland. This census is embodied in Nicolson & Burn's *History*. Of Brampton he says there are 52 Presbyterian families ; Kirklinton, 6 ; Stapleton, 6 ; Cumwhitton, 2 ; Lanercost, 15 ; Denton, 2 ; Castle Carrock, 9 ; and Hayton, 2. In the parishes of Carlatton, Geltsdale, Walton, Irthington, and Kirkcambeck the population is not given. We may safely, however, put down two families of Presbyterian proclivities in each of these parishes, making a total of 101 families under Wight's pastoral care. This would be the high-water mark of the Congregational membership.

We have now come to a close regarding Wight. In all, we sum him up as a man—strong, capable, self-reliant, kindly, and a born leader of men. Intent he was to know, and knowing do, the work laid to his hand.

Having dealt thus fully with Wight, we will curtail our reference to later ministers, only giving such important particulars as are essential to complete our paper.

Following Wight, we find John Herries from Dumfries ordained at Brampton, 10th April, 1734. His settlement at Brampton is full of interest. In all probability he was introduced to the congregation by Robert Wight, for we find Wight administering the sacrament and the rite of baptism during the vacancy. We extract from the records the following particulars:—

Mr John Herries preacher of the Gospel att Dumfries having a call to the work of the Ministry presented to him by the congregation of Protestant Dissenters att Brampton did think fit to accept the same Augt 1st 1733. And application being made to the Provincial meeting of ministers att Penrith immediately thereafter that the sd Mr Herries might be ordained as minister of the Gospel of Christ among them. The Provincial thought fit to grant the same and appointed April 10th of the year ensuing the ordinary time of their Provincial Meeting for that solemnity att Brampton.

April 10 1734. Convened after prayer by Mr Dickinson of Carlisle Mod^r^* Messrs Rotheram de Kendal, Threlkeld de Penruk, Wilson Alstone, Ashley Whitcham, Walker Cockermouth, Helm Penruddock, Crossland Greenside, Deans Falstone, who proceeded to take all due previous tryals of Mr Herries and having approven of the same they thereafter went to the meeting house and after sermon made by Mr Walker Ezekiel 33 Chap Vs 30 to 32 Mr Rotheram took the confession and proposed the questions. Mr Dickenson prayed over the candidate and set apart to the work of the ministry by prayer fasting and the laying on of hands in a most solemn manner. Mr Ashley gave the charge and concluded with prayer.

Then was drawn up and delivered to Mr Herries the following certificate of his ordination.

---

* Moderator, the chairman or president of any meeting of session, presbytery, or assembly of a Presbyterian Church.

Brampton April 10. 1734 We whose names are hereunto subscribed having examined Mr John Herries and received satisfaction touching both his abilities for the Gospel ministry and his Life and conversation have solemnly set him apart for that work by fasting prayer and imposition of hands. Witness our hands the day and year above written.

Sic Subscribitur

Thos Dickenson
C Rotheram
S Threlkeld
Adam Wilson
Ra Ashley
Jas Crosland
John Kirkpatrick
Thomas Walker
John Helm
Jos Deans

The same day after the same manner by the same persons was ordained Mr Adam Deans to the same work of the ministry at Huddlesceugh.

The names of the ministers of this early presbytery of Cumberland are full of interest. All of them are known to us. Thomas Dickenson was minister of the congregation now represented by Fisher Street Presbyterian Church, Carlisle. Samuel Threlkeld was minister of the old 1662 congregation at Penrith. Radcliffe Ashley was minister of the old Market Place Presbyterian congregation of Whitehaven, now merged with the High Street Presbyterians into one body. Greenside and Falstone are Northumberland congregations still existing. John Helme was minister of the Penruddock Presbyterian congregation, established by Dr. Richard Gilpin, the ejected rector of Greystoke. In Evans' list, we find Penruddock in 1717 credited with a congregation of "one hundred hearers." The Rev. Caleb Rotheram,* D.D., was minister of Kendal Presbyterian Church, 1716-1752. During his ministry the congregation became Unitarian. Evans quotes it as having "205 hearers, of which there are 15 county voters." Adam Wilson was minister of

* During Rotheram's ministry at Kendal he formed an academy, in which were trained a large number of north country Unitarian ministers. His grandson, John Rotheram, became Professor of Natural Philosophy, St. Andrews.

Alstone Moor, at this time Presbyterian, but now Congregational. To quote Evans again, it had "150 hearers and 10 county voters." Of John Kirkpatrick little is known. He was minister of a small country congregation now extinct—Hutton, near Kendal. Thomas Walker was minister of Cockermouth Congregational Church, 1733-1736. It is probable that Walker himself was a Presbyterian, for he became minister of Millhill Presbyterian Church, Leeds, where he died 1764. Adam Deans, here ordained, was minister of the largest Presbyterian Church in Cumberland at that period excepting Whitehaven. Huddlesceugh, now Parkhead, Kirkoswald, rejoiced in a congregation of 235 hearers and 20 county voters. Adam Deans lies buried in the graveyard of the ancient conventicle where he so long laboured. He was the tutor of Joseph Benson, of Gamblesby, one of the early associates of John Wesley. The ministry of Mr. Herries terminated about the end of 1736, but there is nothing to show what became of him.

The successor of John Herries was Israel Bennet. It is evident he was called by the Brampton Presbyterian congregation from Keswick. The congregation at Keswick, according to Evans' MSS., at this date was Presbyterian. It is now Congregational. We know from Evans that Robert Stott was minister in 1729 at Keswick, so that Bennet cannot have been long settled there when called to Brampton. No session records were kept during the incumbency of Bennet, though he seems to have been particular about posting up the baptismal register and the list of collections and "dispursements." Every penny is accounted for by a detailed record of payments to the poor and distressed, and for repairs to meeting-house and manse, peats, coals, taxes, communion elements, and catechisms "for ye catechumens." Mr. Bennet's ministry at Brampton terminated on July 29, 1745. During his ministry the congregation purchased by subscription the four-acre field in Old Church Lane, known as "The

Halfacres." This still continues as an endowment of the church, and now lets for £13. Towards the cost there comes from Dumfries £10—no doubt through Wight's influence. Among other subscribers are Dr. Isaac Watts, the hymn writer, who gives two guineas. From Brampton Bennet removed to Carlisle, where he figured rather prominently during Prince Charlie's occupation of that city, for we read from Chancellor Waugh's account of the rebellion (Mounsey's *Carlisle in 1745*, p. 62) that "Mr Wardale, Mr Bennet the Dissenting Minister and myself attended Col. Durand in that capacity"—*i.e.*, as "Aid de Cons"—and executed the part with coolness and resolution. The evidence at the court martial of Israel Bennet, dissenting minister, is also given. (*Ibid*, p. 86). The whole is exceedingly interesting, and shows that Bennet was of some standing in the city.

Arrangements for a successor had evidently been made before Mr. Bennet's removal, for the week after we find John Allan from Dumfries minister of this congregation, though he is not ordained till a year after, at Penrith. Mr. Allan does not seem to have kept session records, though the baptismal register and the collections book are kept as carefully as ever. Whether on account of his youth—for he was only 21 when placed over the Brampton congregation—or on account of his peaceable disposition I do not know, but he does not seem to have been of the warlike spirit of his predecessor. For opposite the period of rebellion* is recorded :—

Nov. 10 & 17. No sermon. The Minr being out of town because ye Rebels were in it.

Thursday, October 9th, 1746, is observed as thanksgiving day for victory. On Wednesday, January 7th, 1747, a national fast is observed. The minister is still absent now and again conducting a service at Wardrew. Mr.

* For further particulars, see *Brampton in 1745*, by Rev. H. Whitehead; and H. Penfold's *Brampton and the District*, p. 30.

Allan received a presentation to the parish of Dunscore from George II., at which place he died in 1753, in the twenty-ninth year of his age and eighth of his ministry. (Scott's *Fasti*, vol. 1, p. 380.)

The Rev. John Johnston followed. He was ordained at Brampton, April 11th, 1753, by the associated ministers of Cumberland. Mr. John Dickenson, from Penruddock, gave the charge; Mr. James Ritchie, M.D., Great Salkeld, gave the exhortation; Mr. Adam Deans, of Parkhead, prayed and laid on the first hand. There is nothing out of the ordinary about Mr. Johnston's ministry. We only make one extract from the records of collections:—

Aug 2. 1752 A contribution for the United Congregation of Great Salkeld and Plumpton NB very liberal one. Given to this contribution one shilling by two Scotchmen viz John Shaw and George Brown.

We see how close the connection was kept up with the old Presbyterian dissenting congregations of Cumberland. From Brampton Mr. Johnston removed to the parish of Durrisdeer, continuing minister of that place till his death in 1770.

In 1758 the Rev. Simon Currie, of Haltwhistle, is inducted. He, however, only occupies the Brampton ministry for one year, dying at Brampton in 1759. At Haltwhistle he began a register of baptisms in 1752. (*Haltwhistle Presbyterian Messenger*, June, 1902.) In 1759 is made up a schedule of the church property as follows:—

1759. There is let of the Minister's house and ground to the several persons as under at these rents

Jacob Hope farms the field at a year	3	10	0
Mr Young farms so much of the house as he pays ...	3	10	0
Mr Sparrow farms the parlor at a year	1	0	0
Thomas Moffatt farms the stabel at		14	0
Mrs Lazenby farms the garden		10	0
John Tallentier farms the litel sellor aback of the Meetinghouse		8	0
	9	07	0

Of the Rev. Robert Potts, who succeeded Mr. Currie, we know a great deal, but space prevents us giving more than the briefest outline. A licentiate of the presbytery of Jedburgh, he was ordained at Brampton, October 16th, 1759, where he remained thirteen years, when he was presented to the parish of Etterick, from which he was loosed May 9th, 1780. Thereafter he became minister at Penruddock, where he continued till his death, January 1st, 1806, at the age of 86, after a ministry of forty-seven years. We extract only one or two items from the "dispursements":—

July 18. 1764. To Mr Jas Ewart towards defraying expenses to Penrith as representative for the Congregation who being tenant of trust for the Dissenting Minister's dwelling house was freed from serving the office of Constable for it ... 00 . 10 . 6

June 19. 1769. To the Earle of Carlisles general fine 00 . 10 . 00

The annual fine was sixpence, and it is evident that twenty years' purchase—*i.e.*, ten shillings—had to be paid on the accession of the superior to the dignities of his position. This would be paid to Frederick, fifth earl, on his attaining his majority. He succeeded to the title in 1758 when only ten years old. This lord's rent was annually paid up to the year 1897, when the enfranchisement of the church property was presented to the congregation by the present Earl of Carlisle.

We will close our sketch by referring shortly to Robert Hood, D.D., the next minister after Mr. Potts. Though suspected of Unitarian leanings, Hood was a popular minister, and had a crowded church. He was called to Brampton on November 22nd, 1772, and seems to have been inducted the following year. Under him records of sessional procedure entirely disappear, and he only continues the financial accounts till 1775. Only two baptisms are recorded. Indeed, it is evident that Mr. Hood took no interest either in records or registers. However, after his time the elders gathered up as complete a list as

possible of all he had baptised, entered them in the records, and signed them. In September, 1775, Hood received and accepted a call to the Hanover Square congregation,* Newcastle, the church commenced by Richard Gilpin, late of Greystoke, which some time before had adopted Unitarian views. This congregation is now represented by the Church of the Divine Unity, Newcastle. Among the "dispursements" Hood recorded are the following:—

July 1773	To tokens	0 . 1 . 8
Nov. 1773	To four communion cups	0 . 16 . 0
	To a baptism bason	0 . 3 . 9½
	To engraving the Cups and bason ...	0 . 3 . 4

These sacramental tokens† continued in use till 1854, and though there is none extant there is a tradition in the congregation that they were square pieces of pewter or lead, with "B.M." (Brampton Meeting) engraven on them. The tokens got in 1854 were used till 1891, when they were replaced by the more popular communion cards. The pewter communion service was also used till 1854, when the ministers and elders of that day divided it out among themselves and purchased a new set. Two of the cups were, however, afterwards recovered, and are now in the vestry.

During Hood's lifetime was published a volume entitled *A Discourse on the Nature of Christ's Kingdom*, in which he earnestly advocated toleration towards his Roman

* During the eighteenth century the Hanover Square congregation had a most intimate acquaintance with Cumberland ministers. Firstly, as we have seen, is Richard Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle. I am told that the communion plate engraved with his name is still held by the congregation. Secondly, the Rev. Samuel Lowthian, of Penrith, became assistant minister; and, on the death of Mr. Wilson in 1751, became sole minister, holding the office till his death in 1780. Some volumes of sermons by Lowthian were published. Thirdly, we have Robert Hood, D.D., from Brampton, who died in 1783.

† Sacramental tokens are at present still used in only one Cumberland church —*i.e*, Bewcastle Presbyterian Church. In Scotland many books have been written, and collections of them made. A paper on "Sacramental Tokens in the Presbytery of Carlisle" ought to be in these *Transactions* before information on them is entirely lost. Two or three years ago at Haltwhistle there were about fifty of them in a small canvass bag; now the whole are lost.

Catholic fellow-subjects. After Hood's death there was published by subscription a volume of sermons. Many Brampton names are among the subscribers. There are also many Kendal names, including the Rotheram family, between whom and Hood, we have reason to believe, existed a warm friendship. We were fortunate enough to come across a volume of the sermons on an Aberdeen bookstall. So far as our judgment goes, they are Trinitarian, and orthodox enough to have been preached by a most rigid Evangelical.

In closing, we acknowledge the great help we have received from friends far and near who have answered our queries and placed at our disposal both documents and books, without which this paper could not have been completed. We are indebted to the Rev. A. H. Drysdale, M.A., author of the *History of the Presbyterians in England*, for much kindly help and advice. It is interesting to observe that he is a successor in the ministry of the Morpeth Presbyterian Church to the Rev. John Horsley, known for his work on the Roman occupation of Britain—a work done in a day when most people were indifferent to antiquities. To Mr. E. G. Atkinson we are indebted for the verification and the unearthing of many facts at the Public Record Office. Especially have we to thank the present minister and elders for the loan of their very valuable records and registers, which, we think, are unique in their completeness among English nonconformists. Subjoined is a list of ministers as complete as is known at present :—

Nathaniel Burnand, ejected from Parish Church, 1662; licensed 1672 by Charles II.

James Noble, M.A.	...	...	ordained 1688	translated	1690
John Kincaid, M.A.	...	...	inducted 1690	died	1708
James Campbell	...	...	ordained 1709	translated	1711
Robert Wight, M.A.	...	...	do. 1712	do.	1724
Do.	...	...	inducted 1726	do.	1732

John Herries	ordained 1734	removed	1736
Israel Bennet	inducted 1736	translated	1745
John Allan	ordained 1746	do.	1751
John Johnston	do. 1752	do.	1758
Simon Currie	inducted 1758	died	1759
Robert Potts	ordained 1759	translated	1772
Robert Hood, D.D.	settled 1772	do.	1781
George Currie	ordained 1781	died	1783
John Wightman	do. 1784	do.	1819
(Buried in Brampton New Churchyard.)			
James Laurie	settled 1819	resigned	1831
Robert Hiddlestone	ordained 1831	translated	1843
George Brown, LL.D... ...	inducted 1843	resigned	1851
Peter Robert Crole	ordained 1851	translated	1859
Peter Taylor	do. 1859	resigned	1880
William Thompson McClenaghen	inducted 1881	translated	1885
Walter Cory Blount	ordained 1885	resigned	1889
Robert Brown	inducted 1889	died	1896
(Buried at Paisley, N.B.)			
Gustavus James Goodman ...	inducted 1896	present minister	

APPENDIX.

It is not unlikely that Burnand came to this neighbourhood through the instrumentality of Colonel Charles Howard, the Cromwellian, who, no doubt, especially during the existence of the Commonwealth, would afford powerful protection and patronage to the Puritans. Charles Howard was one of Cromwell's Commissioners for the northern counties. He was called to Cromwell's Upper House as Viscount Howard, and ultimately became the first Earl of Carlisle. No doubt in his time he would be the friend of Richard Gilpin, of Scaleby Castle, and Nathaniel Burnand, vicar of Brampton, of which living he would be the patron. Burnand was one of the twenty-five.

The connection between the Brampton Presbyterian congregation and Dr. Richard Gilpin at this time has been ably traced by Mr. Whitehead in his paper. Students of north-country pedigrees will remember that Burnand was married to Gilpin's sister Margaret, who bore him four sons and one daughter, as may be seen from the elaborate pedigree of the Gilpin family traced with minute care by the late W. Jackson, F.S.A., and published by this Society.

Though our paper ostensibly treats of Presbyterianism in Brampton from 1662-1780, we might glance at one or two items in the subsequent history of the congregation. Among the prominent supporters of the congregation in 1780 were the Forster family, a well-known family of musicians and violin makers. In the baptismal registers are registered twenty-six members of the family. Our attention was drawn in 1893 to the fact that a *History of the Violin*, by W. Sandys and S. A. Forster, had been published. From this rare volume we get some interesting glimpses of the family. They are known in the musical world as "the Fiddle Forsters." We extract very briefly the following notices, making some additions for the sake of completeness :—

The first of "the Fiddle Forsters" to be recorded was John Foster, born, 1688; died, 1781. Spinning-wheel, gunstock, and fiddle-maker.

William Forster (1), son of the above John; born, 1713; died, 1801. Tombstone in Brampton Old Churchyard. His instruments are not reckoned by competent judges to be high-class. Ticket on violin runs—

WILLIAM FOSTER
VIOLIN MAKER
IN BRAMPTON.

William Forster (2), 1738-1808, son of the above William (1). This is the great artist of the family, known familiarly as "Old Forster." Removed to London; afterwards went into business on his own account. His first label was—

WILLIAM FORSTER
VIOLIN MAKER
IN ST MARTIN'S LANE LONDON
17—

He gradually became more famous and received high patronage, as the following label will testify—

WILLIAM FORSTER
VIOLIN VIOLONCELLO AND BOW MAKER
ALSO MUSIC SELLER
TO THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES
THE PRINCE OF WALES AND DUKE OF CUMBERLAND
OPPOSITE THE CHURCH IN ST MARTIN'S LANE LONDON

He was the first publisher of Haydn's music in this country. His instruments are made on the "Amati" model and are considered exceedingly fine. His register of baptism is in the Brampton Presbyterian registers.

William Forster (3), 1764-1824, son of No. 2. Lived entirely in London. His instruments are good, but not up to the standard of those made by his father.

William Forster (4), 1788-1824, son of William (3). Very clever violin maker, but of unsteady habits.

Simon Andrew Forster, 1801-1869, fourth son of William (3). Last of the "Fiddle Forsters." Gained prize medal for his instruments at the 1851 Exhibition. Joint author, as we have already stated, of the *History of the Violin*, the first work published solely on the violin in Britain.

The registers also record Joseph Forster, brother of the famous William. He remained in Brampton, and was well known locally both for his violin making and playing. The hereditary musical talent of this family is very remarkable.

One might remark in passing the historical instincts of George Brown, LL.D., minister 1843 to 1851. Besides being a diligent magazine contributor, he it was who gathered together the materials upon which is built Mackelvie's *Annals of the U.P. Church*, a book noted alike for its exhaustiveness and accuracy. Dr. Brown was the last minister to preach in the building now used as the Central Hall in its old condition. The venerable-looking building erected in 1722, with its double roof supported by three massive pillars, was altered and modernised in 1852, after having stood unchanged for more than four generations. Dr. Brown was, perhaps, the last of the real old school. He is still remembered by the older members walking from his residence in Back Street clothed in black Geneva gown and bands, and in at the High Cross Street entrance to the services of the congregation.

The present church was erected in 1854 principally by the Rev. P. R. Crole, ably assisted by Robert Barbour, Esq., and the members of the congregation. The eldership in 1854 was composed of Thomas Broadfoot, Robert Leslie, and William Potts; while the diaconate comprised the following—John Bath, Henry Nelson, John Pickering, George Hastie, Henry Penfold, and William Bell.

ART. VIII.—*Extracts from Acts of the Privy Council relating to Cumberland and Westmorland, 1558 to 1568, being the first ten years of the reign of Elizabeth.* By T. H. HODGSON, F.S.A.

Communicated at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

ON previous occasions I have had the honour of laying before this Society extracts from the Acts of the Privy Council, now in course of publication, in the hope that the collection might be useful to some of our members. As I am told that they have been found useful, and some members have asked for more, I now submit a further series. It is, of course, mere paste and scissors work; but it may be useful to have these entries collected, instead of having to search through many volumes. The entries are of very varied interest—some are of much interest, others merely trivial; but, if the extracts are given, it appears necessary that none relating to the two counties should be omitted. As usual, they are incomplete. In many cases we get a glance of an incident which seems interesting, but hear no more of it, and are, so far as these records go, in the dark as to how the matter began or how it ended. I have not, however, thought it necessary to give all in full; many of the entries are tedious from prolixity and repetition, some of them I have condensed—though I hope that nothing material has been omitted—and, in most cases, the spelling has been modernised. With this explanation, the extracts are best left to speak for themselves.

1558.

It would seem that on the accession of Elizabeth there were some apprehensions on account of the laxity of discipline in the northern garrisons, for at the third

Council held, on 30th November, 1558, instructions were sent to the Earl of Northumberland to hold a simultaneous muster at various places on the Borders, reporting those who were absent. As a sequel to this probably, we find that on the 2nd of January Sir Ralph Grey, to whom on the 20th December a letter was dispatched in approval of his conduct and continuing him in his command of 100 men with an increase of pay, but who, as it would appear, had come up to London without leave, was committed to the Porter's Lodge, from which, however, he was released next day on his humble submission and promise of amendment.

On the 30th November the Attorney-General was directed to stay proceedings in a matter between the Earl of Cumberland and Lord Wharton, as the Council would themselves hear the matter.

On the 9th December Lord Dacre, having 200 hackbutters under his command on the West Marches, was directed to send 100 of them for service on the east and Middle Marches.

On the 20th December a general order was issued that all officers and soldiers having charges on the Borders should repair to their posts on pain of forfeiture of all wages due to them.

At a sitting held at Westminster on the 23rd December, the Council appointed a series of committees for various purposes, among which was one "for care of the north partes towards Scotland and Berwick," consisting of the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Admiral (Lord Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln), and Sir Ambrose Cave (Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster).

1558-9.

On the 3rd of January Lord Westmorland was called on to make a return of the Scottish prisoners taken during his command in the north, the ransom agreed on for

them, where they were detained, and whether in his opinion they should be sent home on payment of their ransoms or should be detained for a time.

On the 10th of January a letter was written to Leonard Dacre thanking him for his late good exploit upon the Scots, and also directing him to express the thanks of the Council to Captain Tutty and the rest that served with him. The Council, however, while "they very well like his forwardness so would they have wysshed he had forborne thannoyinge of them, and stand only upon his own guarde, consydering they wyll seke to revenge it." It may be mentioned here that Captain Tutty, who appears to have distinguished himself in Border warfare, was in 1562 appointed captain of one half of the Essex levies. We hear no more of him on the Borders.

On the 11th of January a letter was written to the Bishop of London requiring him to lend to the Bishop of Carlisle (Owen Oglethorpe), who was appointed to officiate at the Queen's coronation, *Universum apparatum pontificium quo uti solent Episcopi in hujusmodo magnifici illustrissimorum regum inaugurationibus.* It is well known that there was difficulty in obtaining a prelate to officiate. The Bishop of Carlisle's compliance was rewarded by his being summoned to appear before the Council on the 5th April and bound in recognisance to attend daily, and not to depart from London without leave of the Council. He, with others bound at the same time, attended accordingly till the 11th May, when he was discharged with a fine of £250. The offence is stated to have been a contempt; of what nature does not appear from the Council book, but from Strype it would seem to be that he spoke or voted in Parliament against the Queen's supremacy or against the Bill for Uniformity of Religion—perhaps both.

On the 27th February the Justices of Assize for Cumberland were directed to inquire into the matters in dispute between Sir Thomas Dacre and his father Lord Dacre, "according to the minute in the Council chest."

From the 12th May, 1559, to 28th May, 1562, the register is missing, and for some time after the latter date it is very imperfect.

1562.

On the 4th July occurs one of the few notices we find of Mary Queen of Scots. It is an order to the Sheriff of Nottingham to make preparation for a projected meeting there of the two Queens. This meeting, however, never took place.

On the 6th July a letter was written to Lord Dacre respecting some complaints made by "the Mrs. Maxwell" *(sic)* to the Queen of Scots, a copy of which letter was sent to Mr. Randolph, the Ambassador in Scotland, to be shown to the Queen of Scots, with an assurance of the Queen's desire for the preservation of peace, "according to the minute in the Council chest."

On the 6th August, in consequence of a complaint from the Laird of Cessford that certain Scottish thieves had taken refuge in England, Lord Grey and Sir John Forster, the Wardens of the East and Middle Marches, were directed to arrest any such that might be found, and send them to the Warden of the opposite March to be dealt with.

An entry on the 6th September shows that Lord Dacre, having been directed to arrest one John Lampeley (probably Lamplugh), had in mistake arrested one George Lampley. The rightful culprit having been otherwise arrested and committed, he is now directed to release George who, as it would appear, he was keeping in prison notwithstanding former orders for his release.

No entries from 22nd January, 1562, to 5th May, 1564.

1564.

On the 11th May Sir John Forster is directed "to see Greame (Graham) answered of such sommes of money as is due unto him," then to proceed to Berwick and follow the orders of the Earl of Bedford.

On the 23rd November, "a letter to William Patenson of the county of Cumberland to suffer such as be skilful in minerals and are therefore authorized to have the working and recovering thereof in the Queen's Majesty's lordship of Barrowdale in the said county, notwithstanding his pretensed right thereunto by virtue of letters granted out of the Seal of the Duchie of Lancaster unto him in the tyme of the reign of King Edward the VIth."

On the 7th December summonses to appear were issued to, among others, Corwin, *alias* Curwen, of Workington, "in Lancashire or Cumberlandshire" *(sic)*.

1564-5.

An entry on the 9th January shows that Lord Scrope was then Warden of the West Marches and Governor of Carlisle, apparently recently appointed, as it refers to demands made by him for his command. These demands were on the 16th referred to Lord Bedford, Governor of Berwick and Warden of the East Marches, for inquiry and report, and by an entry on the 30th it appears that he had proposed to send an officer to examine the matter, as "the Lordes do well like his choice of Captain Rede or Captain Brickwell to go to the West Marches for the purpose."

On the 6th April, 1565, Lord Bedford is advised that since the coming of the Earl of Bothwell to his house of "tharmitage in Leddesdale," the evil-disposed sort have committed a spoil upon the Queen's Majesty's subjects, and he is therefore to detach 20 men for the strengthening of the force on the Middle Marches, in compliance with the request of Sir John Forster, the Warden; while the Earl of Bothwell should remain upon the Borders.

On the 22nd June there appears "a letter to the Lord Scrope in answer of his letters wrytten to Mr. Secretarye with thexamynacion by him taken of Nycholas Hethe, whom his Lordship is required to procede somewhat sharply withall to the ende he should declare the full

truthe why he wandreth abrode, and yf he will not be plaine to use some kinde of torture unto him so as it be without any grete bodily hurte and to advertise of his doings herein &c according to the mynute in the Council Chest." Who Nicholas Heath was or what was his offence I know not, but the entry is worth reproducing *verbatim*. It is the only allusion we meet with to the use of torture except in the Tower or Bridewell.

On the 8th of July a letter was written to the Mayor and other officers of Newcastle informing them of the expected arrival of certain German miners, who were to be "for their monny curtesly received," and guided from Newcastle to "Keswyk in Cumberland," where they were to be employed.

As is well known, piracy was one of the great evils of this period, and in this year (1565) the Council seems to have deemed it necessary to make a serious effort for its suppression. With this view Commissioners, armed with very extensive powers, were appointed in each maritime county, under an order passed on the 8th November. Accompanying this is a list of the Commissioners appointed in each county, and of the ports under their jurisdiction. The latter is of the highest interest, as showing the progress and decline of the ports round our coasts. Some which are now of importance seem hardly to have been known. For instance, the clerk of the Council places Liverpool in Cheshire, so that little can have been known of it;* while, on the other hand, many which are named have dwindled into insignificance, and some, chiefly on the east coast, can no longer be found, having been washed away by the encroachments of the sea. The Commissioners named for Cumberland are Henricus, Dominus Scrope, Henricus Curwin, Johannes Egliambery (Aglionby), Georgius Laglegh (*sic*, perhaps Lamplugh) and Thomas Myddelton. The ports named

* Liverpool, until somewhat later, was considered a harbour of Chester.—Ed.

are Millom, Ravenglass, Calday (perhaps the mouth of the Calder river), St. Bees, Whithaven, Wirkington, Skimbornes, and the Water of Sulweye.

From 31st December, 1565, to 8th October, 1566, the register is missing. The first entry we find relating to these counties is on the day they resume, when orders were sent to Lord Scrope and Sir John Forster to levy each within his wardenry 50 light horsemen for service in Ireland.

1566.

On the 31st October a letter was sent to Lord Scrope desiring him to assist John Briggs, a merchant of Carmarthen, in enforcing a decree of the Privy Council of Scotland for the recovery of a sum of £300 detained in the hands of Sir John Maxwell and John Dumarr (Dunbar?) of Mochrum, by the procurement of Archibald Greame and others, apparently as security, as it is stated that the latter are now content that the same may be released.

1566-7.

On the 18th January a letter was sent to Lord Scrope and the Bishop of Carlisle (John Best) to inquire into complaints made by the citizens of Carlisle against the Mayor, Robert Dalton. He appeared before the Council on the 21st April, and was committed to the Fleet, from which, however, he was released on the 29th on giving bail to appear at the next Assizes at Carlisle and abide by the order of the Judges. He is said to owe the city £100 besides the sums which he is charged to have taken out of the common treasury; also to restore the charter and plate belonging to the Corporation which had come into his possession. There appears also to have been a doubt whether he was lawfully elected Mayor, and in consequence it was directed that till this cause could be tried either he who was alleged to be lawfully chosen or the next senior alderman should act as Mayor—it being

provided, however, that no person appointed by Dalton to any office should be removed unless for default. In consideration of poverty, he was excused from his fees in the Fleet, except the expense of maintenance.

On the 7th April it was ordered that the receivers of the northern counties should pay the charges for the levy of 100 horsemen for Ireland to be made by Lord Scrope and Sir John Forster.

1570.

On the 12th October orders were given that Richard Lowther, who had been committed to the Tower and afterwards released on bail to reside with his brother-in-law Henry Goodyere, should be released on giving bonds to perform certain conditions named on the schedule sent to him, which, however, is not given.

1570-1.

On the 29th or 30th January (the entries are given together) we find a letter to Lord Scrope touching the overflowing of Eden river, and the danger of the bridge. He is directed to take advice as to the remedy, and carry it out with speed. It would seem that the result was an appeal to the country for subscriptions. An entry on the 1st March, 1574-5, records a letter to the Lord Scrope and the Bishop of Carlisle for the repairing of a breach upon the river of Eden near Carlisle, &c., according to a minute remaining in the Council chest; and on the 5th April, 1575, is a long entry of a letter which it will probably be of interest to give in full though out of date, as it shows that the matter was considered of sufficient importance to call for subscriptions from Westmorland, "the Bishopric" (of Durham), and other places within the presidency of York. With regard to "Low Westmorland," our late President wrote to me:—"The east and west wards of Westmorland, otherwise the barony of Appleby or Applebyshire, are 'the bottom of Westmorland,' and so would be Low Westmorland."

A letter to the Bisshop of Carlisle and Lord Scrope signifieing the receipt of theirs of the xxiijth of the last touching their proceding for the repaireng of the breach ot the river of Eden besides Carlile, for the which they give them right hartie thanckes; and as their Lordships liked well the forwardnes of the Mayour and his brethern of Carlile, the gentlemen of Cumberland and Kendall, for the which their Lordships thought convenient to require them to give thanckes unto them, so did they not a letill mervaile that the gentlemen of Lowe Westmerland shold so absolutely refuse to contribute anything at all, the worke being so necessarie aswell for the one countrey as thother, and therefore they shold signifie unto the said gentilmen that aunswer in the name of the rest, as to all others as they shold see cause, how moche theyr refusall is mysliked, and that, notwithstanding their allegacions of repaireng of bridges in their owne contrey, it is loked that they shold contribute sumwhat, although not in equall proporcion with the rest; and incase they shold still persiste in their wilfulness, then the said Bisshop and Lord Scrope to advertise their Lordships that other order might be taken; and yet to thintent the workers might not be any longer delaied, their Lordships had written their letters to the Lord President at Yorke that if he shalbe advertised from the said Bisshop and Lord Scrope that further contribucion shalbe nedefull then that which shalbe gathered in Carlile, Cumberland, Kendall, then his Lordship to give order that in the Bisshopricke and other places of his jurisdiction for sume further contribucion, that the workes be not forslone but perfected with spede.

A letter to therle of Huntington, Lord President at Yorke, that whereas their Lordships had been informed of a greate breache of of the ryver of Eden near to the citie of Carlisle, which it were requisite, aswell for the necessitee of her Majesty's service as entercourse of contries adjoyninge, were spedely repaired, like as their Lordships had written their letters to the Bisshop of Carlile and Lord Scrope to deal with thinhabitauntes of those partes for sume contribucion to be levied towardes that workes, so have their Lordships thought convenient to signifie unto his Lordship that in case he shalbe advertised from them that the collection which shalbe gatherid in those partes shall not suffice to finishe the worke, then his Lordship to gyve order that in the Bisshopricke and other places of jurisdiction sume gathering may be made towardes the charges of that worke, being so necessarie, acording to the said Buisshopps and Lord Scrope[s] advertisementes what shalbe nedeful for a further supplie, &c.

On the 6th March Sir Thomas Smith, who held the

deanery of Carlisle, was sworn of the Privy Council. He was appointed a principal secretary in 1572, but the part of the register which should contain the minute of his appointment is now missing.

On the 6th March a letter was written to Lord Scrope "touching a spoil donne by the Quenes Majesties subjectes under his charge unto the tenants and servants of the Earl of Morton in Galloway, and furder, &c acording to the minute remaining, &c." In May following Lord Scrope is directed to cause restitution to be made to the Earl of Morton's tenants and others that were spoiled of their goods.

1571.

An entry of the 14th May, 1571, directs the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace of certain shires within the diocese of Chester to be aiding and assisting to the Bishop of Carlisle, Richard Best (afterwards Bishop of Durham), who had been appointed by the Archbishop of York, Edmund Grindal (himself a Cumbrian), to be visitor of the diocese of Chester. Another letter of the same date gives similar instructions to Lord Derby, who was Lord-Lieutenant of Lancaster and Cheshire.

13th June.—A letter to George Lamplugh, signifying the Queen's pleasure that he should be restored and thenceforth enjoy the office of Deputy-Lieutenant to Lord Wharton of the Castle and Honour of Cockermouth. It appears that he had been deprived of his office, having given offence by issuing orders in his own name for the appointment and removal of officers without notifying that he did so as deputy to Lord Wharton. A letter of the 16th August, 1574, directs him to deliver over the castle to such as shall be appointed by the Master of the Wards (Lord Burghley) and the Lord Chamberlain (Lord Howard, of Effingham), as guardians to the Lord Wharton.

11th July.—A letter to Lord Scrope respecting the evil-doings of Fergus Greame, by reason whereof his lordship

was forced to use some kind of chastisement towards him, and the Scots allied with him. Lord Scrope is now required to forbear further proceedings till he shall receive further instructions; also to take some "quiet order and stay for the time being between him (Greame) and his friends and Edward (Irving) of the Boushaw and his friends that he may return to his in England and Edward to his in Scotland." It appears by an entry on the 8th August that Fergus Greame appeared before the Council and made submission, acknowledging sundry faults committed by him.

On the 29th September orders were sent to Lord Scrope to apprehend one Anthony Armstrong, "a notable thief and traytour to the Queens Majesty;" also to send up under safe custody one Richard Lother (Lowther) to answer that is objected against him. Richard Lowther was, it appears, again committed to the Tower. He appeared before the Council on 2nd November, 1573, and was discharged with a reprimand on promising to appear when called upon.

15th October.—A letter to Lord Scrope, approving of his negotiations with Lord Herries and the King's party in Scotland.

1571-2.

16th March.—A letter to Lord Scrope advising him of one Robin a Fulde, *alias* Grymes, a conveyor of letters for the Queen of Scots. There were associated with him one David Grymes, of Conisburgh, and "one Wilson that halteth," whom he is to cause to be apprehended and put to safe keeping, so that the one may have no conference with the other until he shall have examined him touching the matters aforesaid.

1572.

21st, 22nd, and 25th May.—Entries for these dates are collected. The only one which concerns us is the following:—A letter to the Lord Scrope, Warden of the West

Marches, for aneimpst Scotland to cause restitution to be made to certain of therle (the Earl) of Morton's tenantes and others that have been spoiled of their goods by sundry under his rule and charge.

1573.

From the 31st July, 1572, to February, 1572-3, the registers are missing. On 26th March, 1573, letters were written to Lord Scrope and Sir John Forster to "have good regard to the forces of the Borders if the Marshal be enforced to imploye them to the recovery of Edenborough Castle." By "the Marshal" is meant the Marshal of Berwick, which office was then held by Sir William Drury, who was informed of the order given, and directed to "take like order with the Deputies of the East Marches." The office of Lord Warden of the East Marches seems to have been vacant.

14th January.—A letter to the Lord President of the North and the Archbishop of York (Edmund Grindal) with a supplication of Anthony Hudleston, of Cumberland, esquire, that when he was convented before the High Commissioners of that province for suspicion of incest and adultery, and thereupon was bound in recognisances not to depart home, which hath been almost two years, they would proceed without further delay to some final trial and determination of the matter, and to advertise their lordships what they have done therein.

12th July.—Three letters to the Wardens of the Marches to meet and confer with the Regent of Scotland for the repressing of the thieves and fugitives of the Borders, &c., according to the minute remaining (in the Council chest).

29th October (at the Star Chamber).—A letter to the Bishop of Carlisle and the Lord Scrope to procure some contribution among the gentlemen of the Wardenry and the city of Carlisle for the repairing of a breach made by the river of Eden near unto the city of Carlisle.

2nd November.—Richard Lowther, late prisoner in the

Tower, made this day his appearance before my lords of the Council according to his bond, and was by their lordships for this time dismissed from any further attendance; but only commanded to behave himself well and dutifully, and to be ready to make his appearance before their lordships at such time as he should be hereafter commanded.

23rd November.—A letter to the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Carlisle (Richard Barnes), with the petition of Anthony Hudleston and a letter of the Bishop of Chester (William Downman) touching a matter of incest, wherewith the said Hudleston was charged and under bond, that they should take further examination if it so seemed meet, and dismiss him if they found no further cause than appeared to their lordships.

1st December.—A letter to Sir John Forster, Lord Warden of the Middle Marches, to use as good means as he can to stay the Lord Farnehurst (Ferniehurst) that he go not into France, and to keep him in some secret place for his safety until the Lord Regent may be dealt withal by the Queen's Majesty or otherwise to reconcile him to his favour; with a postscript to advertise how he findeth him and upon what points of submission he standeth, that the right may be dealt with accordingly.

1573-4.

3rd February.—Three letters to the Wardens of the Marches over against Scotland to concur (confer?) with the Lord Regent or other Wardens of the realm, for the suppression of their outlaws and rebels that seek any relief and succours or defence in each part, as heretofore have been written by their lordships to the said Wardens, whereof minutes have remained in the chest.

8th March.—A letter to the lord of Hunsdon (Governor of Berwick) to send forthwith to Workington the 100 soldiers appointed to be sent from Berwick to the Earl of Essex in Ireland. A letter to the Lord Scrope to give

order that they may be provided of lodging at Workington or thereabout and also of shipping.

1574.

19th June.—A letter to the Lord Scrope and Bishop of Carlisle to apprehend James Dugdale, Henry Thornell, Richard Wilson, and Martin Moisor, and to commit them to prison, without conference or intelligence, till they shall have advertised and thereupon have other direction. They resort to Mr. Latham's house. This case occurs again on the 18th November, when it appears that Lord Scrope had "apprehended one Dingdall (*sic*), a priest, and one Mosier, the causes of their apprehension being for matters of religion." His lordship was willed to cause them to be conferred withall by some discreet man for the purpose, by which if they could be brought to conformity and be bound to observe the laws and orders of this realm established for religion they should be put at liberty, otherwise he should proceed against them as their offences required, according to the law in such cases provided.

16th August.—A letter to George Lamplugh to deliver the castle of Cockermouth, which was for a certain time committed to his keeping, unto such and in such order as he shall be appointed and required by the Lord Treasurer, Master of the Wards (Lord Burghley), and the Lord Chamberlain (Lord Howard, of Effingham) as guardians to the Lord Wharton.

6th October.—A letter to the Earl of Huntingdon, Lord President in the North, to give order that by Commission from the Court there a complaint enclosed touching a certain riot committed by Gerard Lowther upon the servants of Richard Cleiburne, of the county of Westmorland, esquire, might be examined by some indifferent Justices of Peace, and the said Lowther to be sent for to show before his lordship what he can answer to the said complaint, and to have declared unto him that in consideration of her Majesty's pardon lately bestowed upon

him their lordships looked not to hear any such thing of him. Gerard Lowther was also written to "how their lordships had well thought that in respect of her Majesty's pardon lately granted unto him he would have behaved himself more dutifully than the complaint purporteth." He is ordered to appear before Lord Huntingdon for examination, and to answer the charge brought against him. The offence for which he had been pardoned appears from a late entry to have been a murder in Northumberland, but no particulars of it appear. He is again the subject of our next extract.

22nd November.—A letter to the Lord Chief Justice (Sir Christopher Wray) and Justice Harper, with an (examination) inclosed of the Lord President of the North touching Gerard Lowther for the death of Mathew Tomson. They are required to call him and to take order that he may be forthcoming to answer the fact according to justice, and not to participate *(sic)* the Lord President's letter to Lowther, being sent to them only for their instructions.

10th December.—Upon a letter received from the Lord President of the North that Gerard Lowther was indicted of wilful murder by a private Sessions holden in the county of Westmorland, a letter was written to the Master of the Rolls (Sir William Cordell) to take order for his apprehension and committing to prison according to the law, and if the Lord Chief Justice and Justice Harper were in the city he should confer with them for the ordering of him.

1574-5.

24th January.—A letter to the Lord Chief Justice of England that whereas Gerard Lowther, being indicted of a wilful murder in Northumberland, had obtained her Majesty's pardon and made earnest request to have liberty to plead the same he should be suffered so to do according to the laws; and if upon pleading the said pardon should

be found available towards him he might see him at such liberty as law requireth, unless he should see cause to enjoin him to appear again before their lordships to receive such further order as the case should require. We hear no more of this incident, though the name of Gerard Lowther occurs again.

25th February.—Upon letters from the Lord Regent (of Scotland) that the only daughter and heir of the eldest son of the Lord Carlisle (Scotland) left in her grauncier's (grandsire's) custody, to whom succeeding her father she is now heir and ward to the King, hath been stolen away by her father's brother, &c., and brought into England, and after long secret keeping and removing from place to place was brought to the house of Thomas Carleton in Westmorland, and is presently in the keeping of the Lord Scrope, letters are written to the said lord to deliver her with expedition to such persons as the Lord Regent shall assign, which letters were sent to the Lord Regent inclosed in the former letters for the care of Carleton. Carleton was Land Sergeant of Gilsland, and letters were written on the same day to the Lord Regent on a complaint made by him. One of what nature is not stated. Lord Scrope was instructed to inquire into the Carlisle affair and report his opinion. Possibly the next extract may refer to the complaint made by Carleton.

1st March.—A letter to the Lord Scrope and Sir John Forster, upon the complaint of the death of John Armstrong, that they should cause the offenders to be apprehended and pursued according to justice with uprightness and indifference without all partiality, in which of their offices soever they shall be found.

11th March.—A letter to the Lord Scrope and the Bishop of Carlisle for the repairing of a breach upon the river of Eden near Carlisle, &c., according to a minute remaining in the Council chest. (See *ante*, *sub. ann.* 1570-1).

1575.

27th November.—Letters to Lord Hunsdon (Governor of Berwick and Warden of the East Marches), Lord Scrope (Warden of the West Marches), and Sir John Forster (Warden of the Middle Marches) to apprehend such persons whose names were contained in a schedule sent from the Regent of Scotland, being onsetters and practisers with one Lawrence Nicholai, Italian goldsmith, late inhabitant of Berwick and now prisoner in Scotland, not only to counterfeit that King's coin, but her Majesty's also; and in case upon diligent search any of them shall be found culpable of coining of the moneys of the realme they (are) to proceed with them according to the laws provided in this behalf; but if they had counterfeited only Scottish or other foreign (coin) they should nevertheless stay them till order were sent from hence for their punishment; and in case they should find any stamps of Scottish money to send the same to the Regent, and advertise him of their doings, that by conference together the truth of the practice might be thoroughly known.

29th December.—A letter to Sir John Forster, where their lordships being given to understand from the Lord Scrope what good justice the Regent of Scotland had done upon the West Marches, and that he meaneth to come to the Middle Marches to do the like he should use good correspondence in that behalf for the continuance of amity according to the late agreement at Flouden, and to advertise their lordships what shall be done therein.

1575-6.

26th February.—A letter to the Lord Regent of Scotland touching some quarrel between the Greymes and the Maxwells, according to the minute, &c. There is nothing to show what the quarrel was, or how it ended.

1576.

28th May.—A letter to Christopher Dalston that where he, being executor to the Lady Jane Dacre, wife of Sir

John Dacre of Lanercost, doth withhold a chain of gold given by the last will of the said Lady Jane to a young gentleman named John Semple, son to the Lord Semple, of Scotland, and born of the sister of the said Lady Jane, which having been sundry ways demanded of him and now of late by the Lord Scrope, who was moved thereunto at the instance of the Lord Regent of Scotland; the said Dalston is therefore required to make delivery of the said chain to the said Lord Scrope without delay, and he to deliver the same over to the young gentleman as appertaineth, and this letter shall be his discharge for this purpose, and in so doing he shall avoid other extremities which otherwise by the detaining of it are likely to fall unto him, and hereof he is willed to have regard.

10th February.—A letter to Lord Scrope that whereas by a letter directed to the Lord Treasurer their Lordships are given to understand that the alteration of the dungeon tower at Carlisle, according to his advice and opinion, would not only be very profitable to Her Majesty in saving a good sum of money, and also very commodious for Her Highness' service otherwise; in consideration whereof, and for his better discharge and their lordships' satisfaction therein, they have given order to the Marshal of Berwick (Sir Robert Constable), Captain Brickwell, and Captain Gham, whom their lordships know to be very skilful in matters of fortification, to make their repair to the town of Carlisle, and there together with him to view the said dungeon, and upon conference and consideration thereof to signify unto their lordships particularly the state of the said dungeon, how the same is to be altered, to what end, what profit and commodity may follow, and withal to set down an estimate of the charges necessarily to be employed for the doing of the whole. Orders in the sense of the above were also sent to the Marshal of Berwick.

1576-7.

6th March.—A letter to the Lord President of the North

(Lord Huntingdon) that where one William Johnson, of Naworth, in the barony of Gildeland (*sic*), hath been a suitor unto the lords to have a licence to beg in consideration of certain losses sustained, he is required to examine whether there be any cause why he should be relieved, and accordingly to give order for the helping of it.

1577.

4th August.—A short entry of letters to the Lords Wardens as to the outlaws and disordered people in the north. One hundred men are to be sent from Berwick to Lord Scrope when he shall send for them. Sir John Forster was also written to concerning some matter between the Fenwicks and "Shastons" (Shaftoes?). No particulars are given. The minutes are said to be in the Council chest.

14th October.—Lord Scrope having desired an allowance of eight pence a day to 50 of the 100 men sent from Berwick, that they might serve for two months as horsemen for "repressing of the fugitives on both parts;" their lordships, for avoiding of a new and extraordinary charge to Her Majesty, have required his lordship to make choice of such a number of persons meet and sufficient to serve as he shall think good, the same to be of the country thereabouts, and to divide the time for their service so as some of them may attend vii or viii days and some other on less, as his lordship shall see meetest for the service and for the lesser trouble unto them.

2nd November.—A letter to the Lord Scrope that where their lordships understand by a letter of his of the 25th October, written to Mr. Secretary, that he hath dealt with the gentlemen in that country for a contribution to be had towards the maintenance of fifty horsemen to serve for a time on the Borders for the suppressing of disorders daily committed by the fugitives, whereunto his lordship doubteth they will hardly yield, for that it may seem some innovation among them, although the sum that will suffice

for that purpose will not amount unto above fourscore pounds in both shires, which is but a small thing; their lordships have thought good, upon further consideration had, how necessary the service of the said horsemen will be there for the time, to signify to his lordship that of that fourscore pounds which he thinketh will suffice to bear the charge aforesaid, if he can procure the gentlemen of both the said shires (Cumberland and Westmorland) to allow the one half, their lordships are well contented to furnish him of the other forty pounds out of Her Majesty's treasure at Berwick, and have to that end written their warrant to the treasurer there; they have also appointed the said treasurer to disburse unto the captains beforehand for the victualling of their bands two months' pay or more as he shall think meet, unto whose discretion they refer the time of their stay on the said Borders, when they doubt not but his lordship will have care for the return of them to Berwick as soon as he shall see no further use of their service in those parts. Instructions in this sense were sent to the treasurer of Berwick. Captain Pikeman and Captain Carvill were the officers to be sent.

27th November.—A letter to the Earl of Angus thanking him for "the good disposition and singular care he hath as well towards the furtherance of justice in those parts within his charge as to the continuance and advancement of the league and amity between the two realms."

2nd December.—A letter to the Lord President of York signifying that by the inclosed petition he shall perceive the state of a controversy between one Rowland Vaux, gentleman, of the county of Cumberland, and one Richard and Gerard Lowther, brethren, also of the same county, and where the said Vaux hath been an humble suitor unto their lordships to call the said Lowthers before them and to examine the said controversy here, their lordships have thought it more convenient, the persons being inhabitant within his lordship's government, to recommend the matter unto him, earnestly requiring his lord-

ship to take some pains to boult out the truth between them, and as upon proof he shall find the parties culpable to punish them according to the laws of this realm in that behalf provided.

1577-8.

2nd January.—A letter to the Lord Scrope that where it hath pleased Her Majesty to grant unto Mr. Wolley, Her Highness' secretary for the Latin tongue, the deanery of the Church of Carlisle, who having of purpose sent thither to understand the state of that church to the end that such things as were amiss might be reformed, their lordships do now by his report understand that certain of the same college remain in deep arrearages to the church; for remedy whereof their lordships have thought good to require him to call before him as well the accomptants of the Church of Carlisle, whom they shall understand to remain in debt, as the tenants who are behind with their rents, and as he shall find cause to give order either that they pay the said arrearages and rents due to that college, or to show some reasonable cause why they ought not or do not pay the same; and of his doings herein to advertise their lordships with as convenient speed as he may, as also if there shall be any slackness used herein by any party.

[Wolley was not in orders, though he already held an ecclesiastical preferment, being prebendary of Compton Dundon in the Diocese of Wells.—*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*]

13th January.—To the Lord Scrope in answer of his to my lords, wherein their lordships give him thanks for his pains taken in compounding the controversies and quarrels upon the Borders, being reduced to such quietness as the like hath not been seen within the memory of man; it is also signified unto him that their lordships are pleased to give order to the Receiver of Cumberland to advance unto Mr. Captain Carvell and Mr. Captain Pickman that served under his lordship two months' wages to be defalked of their entertainment out of their

next pay at midsummer, and that they send their letter to Mr. Braddyll (the receiver) for that purpose; they likewise make him to understand that they sent their letters of thanks to Mr. Carmighell (Sir John Carmichael, Scottish Warden of the Marches) for his diligence and conformity in joining with his lordship for compounding of the causes aforesaid.

[Letters in accordance with the above were written to Mr. Braddyll, the treasurer of Berwick, and Sir John Carmichael, but did not reach their destination, the post being robbed on the way, as appears by the next entry to be quoted.]

28th January.—Three letters to the Lord Scrope, Mr. Braddyll, and Mr. Carmighell according as they are before noted, upon advertisement that the former letters were lost by spoiling of the post. the next post is to Carlisle.

10th March.—To the Lord Scrope with a petition inclosed, subscribed by the hands of divers Justices and gentlemen of Cumberland and Westmorland, declaring the scarcity and necessity of corn in the country, and desiring to be relieved from some other parts of this realm; for that the said Justices and gentlemen whose names were subscribed are for the most part persons unknown to their lordships, and thereby the necessity of the request not yet ordered to be relieved, his lordship is desired to certify the very truth of the state and necessity of the premises in that country that thereupon order may be given accordingly, and that by his lordship's case it may be foreseen that such relief as shall be meet to be granted may be faithfully employed only to the use of the country as in the petition is pretended.

[The inland transit of grain was rigidly prohibited, Commissioners for each county being appointed to enforce the restrictions; and there are many instances of licence being granted for the removal of grain from one county to another in consequence of a local—or, indeed, general—scarcity, which was not unfrequent.]

1578.

12th October.—A letter to the Lord Scrope that when by his letters of the 4th October their Lordships are given to understand that from Mr. Bowes, Her Majesty's agent in Scotland, he is advertised that the King of Scots and his Council are very well contented that Will Elliot, *alias* "Will of the Mill," for intercepting of Her Majesty's packet, shall be executed in such sort and manner as Her Majesty shall like of, he is given to understand that for the manner of his execution their lordships do wish it shall be done according to the custom of the Borders, and as near unto the place where the fact was committed as may be.

[This seems to refer to the robbery of the post mentioned above.]

26th October.—Letters to the Lords Wardens as to co-operation with the Scottish Wardens in repressing disorder on the Marches, inclosing a copy (as follows) of a letter from the King of Scots to Mr. Bowes, the English Ambassador in Scotland.

Right trusty and well beloved we greet you heartily well; we have resolved by advice of our Council to direct two noblemen as our Lieutenants to the Borders against the 4th day of November next, either of them accompanied with a sufficient force of our good subjects inhabitants in the inner parts of our realm, for which purpose we have already set out our Proclamations, trusting by this power and the good concurrence and aid of our dearest sister the Queen your Sovereign's Wardens that the insolence and misrule of the thieves that have so troubled the good subjects of both realms this time by past shall be suppressed and they brought to obedience; we have thought good to certify you that you may let our course and interest in this behalf to be understood to our said dearest sister and her Council that order and direction may be sent the more speedily to her Wardens to give their aid and effectual assistance to the furtherance of this purpose so necessary for the continuance of the amity and the common quiet of the Borders of both the realms, for the which effect we intend shortly to direct towards our said dearest sister a servant of our own, but in the mean time

have thought it convenient therefore to acquaint you with our resolution, and so commit you to God.

At our Castle of Stirling the xijth daie of October 1578.

To our right trusty and well beloved
Mr Robert Bowes esquire Ambassador
for our dearest sister the Queen of
England.

22nd November.—A letter to Sir Henry Curwen, knight, and George Lamplugh, esquire, that where Robert Wenham is appointed for Her Majesty's service to convey from Keswick, &c., certain mineral to Dartford, near London, and is to that end to take up things necessary for that service, their lordships have accompanied him with their warrant for the taking up of carts, wains, &c.; although their lordships doubt not but the same will be sufficient in all places where he shall come, yet they think it not amiss to require them in the places near about (if it shall be needful), to be aiding and assisting unto him in all that they may, causing him to be furnished of such things as he shall necessarily want for the furthering of this Her Majesty's service.

[The minerals in question were intended to be used as fluxes in the hope of reducing a quantity of ore brought back by Frobisher from his north-west voyage, and which was supposed to contain gold. It proved, however, to be worthless.]

This completes the entries relating to the two counties for the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign. Later they become fewer in number, though there are still several of interest.

ART. IX.—*Paines made at Shap.* By the Rev. J. WHITESIDE, M.A.

Communicated at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

PAINES, it may be well to state, are penalties imposed by the Court of the lord of the manor, which usually consisted of the steward and a jury of customary tenants, and the method of jurisdiction was very general for the settling of local disputes.

In the church chest at Shap is an old note-book of Canon Simpson, into which he had pasted for preservation the Shap paines, which are written on thin, tearable paper.

Eighty-five in number, they extend from the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth to the eighth of George I. The paine varies according to the seriousness of the offence, from 6d. and 1s. up to 3s. 4d. and 6s. 8d., sums with which we are still fairly familiar. They deal with all sorts of contentions, and are, I think, specially interesting in reviving forgotten or extinct place-names, in giving an idea of the old manner of life, and in tracing the houses occupied by ancient families. The contents of parish chests have a way of disappearing, and our *Transactions* may rejoice to be used for their preservation, though these paines are more of parochial than general importance.

I give the paines *verbatim et literatim*, with a few comments in footnotes. Up to 1712 they are all written in one hand, and the copyist who extracted them from the original about that year has evidently in places been careless in his work.

PAINES MADE IN THE TWENTIETH YEARE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Imprimis That the Penfold wall be made ffive foot high betwixt Pentecost next, upon paine of ... ... vi^{s} viii^{d}

Item That none shall remove or cast any Stones* of his owne land over to his Neighbours upon paine of every default ... ... vi^d

And That none from henceforth shall gather any Woole upon the Comon pasture before the Sun-riseing† upon paine of every default ... ... iii^s iiii^d

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PAINES MADE IN Y^E XXXIIIIth OF QUEENE ELIZABETH

Imprimis That every Tenem^t within Raysett and Tail-bothe‡ shall make all their outlying dikes of their ffeild sufficiently in Stone wall foure foot high, & to make Sixe Roods of the same every yeare until such time, as the same be made round about, upon paine of every default ... ... iii^s iiii^d

Item It is further ordered by John Wharton Esqr Steward of the Mann^r, & John Rigge Gent: Clarke of Courte, wth the assent of all the Tenants of the Lo^pp, that noe Cottages within the same Lo^pp from henceforth shall keep any forraine goods§ to overcharge the Commons or ffeilds wth more Cattel or Sheep, then by my Lo: Comissioners & the Jurye for the time being shall be thought convenient, upon paine of every dafault ... vi^s viii^d

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A PAINE MADE IN THE XXXVth OF QUEENE ELIZABETH

That none of my Lo: Tenants from henceforth shall grave any Turves & sell the same|| upon paine of every default vi^d

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PAINES MADE IN XXXVIth OF QUEENE ELIZABETH 1594

Imprimis that Richd Robinson from henceforth shall keep & make two sufficient Yeates att his Close in Barnekeld upon paine of ... ... xii^d

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* A natural practice where stones abound, with roads bad, and locomotion difficult.

† Probably to give everyone an equal chance. The amount of wool to be gathered is remarkable. I know of a man who picked on Bampton Fell in one summer enough to make a new suit and a pair of blankets.

‡ Variously spelt Racet, Rasat, Rayside; Tailbert, Talebert.

§ The word "goods" is the same as our modern word "stock." Forraine, *i.e.*, belonging to a non-resident; out at gist, festing out.

|| As peats and turves, which are required for several farm purposes, become scarcer, the sale to outsiders is necessarily restricted. Even in the Lyth valley now few tenants are allowed to sell.

Item That none from henceforth shall mowe or sheare any seaves between Tailebothe and Sleddaile upon paine of every default ... ... xii^{d}

PAINES MADE IN THE XXXVIIIth OF QUEENE ELIZABETH 1596

Imprimis That all the Tenants shall make all their severall parts of their Walls att the . . . . . sufficiently before St Ellen's day rent upon paine of every default vi^{s} viii^{d}

Item That none from henceforth shall lye or caste any thing into the Meare Sike att ye Race upon paine of every default ... ... vi^{d}

Item That the Tenants of the upper end of Shapp Towne doe make their dike betwixt uxor Hayton's garth head & Studdfold, & from thence to the Whiteland head sufficient upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

PAINES MADE IN THE III^{d} OF KING JAMES 1605

Imprimis That from henceforth Randall Washington shall not frequent or use any way unto his house att hall-garth,* but only the ancient accustomed way, upon paine of every default ... ... vi^{s} viii^{d}

Item That William Measond and Richd Measond shall keep the usuall high way to their close att Skarre, upon paine of every default ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That every one who ought to be Conble from time to time upon Comand be readie to receive his office & Oath imediately after the Jury shall be impannelled from Yeare to Yeare, upon paine of... ... ... vi^{s} viii^{d}

PAINES MADE THE IIIIth OF KING JAMES 1606

Imprimis That George Whinfeild the elder doe not stopp the way on the fflatt upon paine of ... ... vi^{d}

Item That none wthin this Lo^{pp} frequent or goe over the Longroods upon paine of ... ... vi^{d}

Item That none within this Lo^{pp} shall cutt any whinne to burne upon paine of ... ... vi^{d}

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* Hallgarth was situated in a field adjoining the Tithe Barn at the north-west end of Shap. The old fish ponds can be traced there. George Washington is sometimes said to have sprung from Hegdale. All we can assert is that some of the family did live here.

Item That Will[m] Alexander doe Suffer Will[m] Measond to have his gapp or Yaite between the Meare Stone & the Intake Nooke to the Water & Common w[th]out trouble or stoppe upon paine of ... ... iii[s] iiii[d]

M[du] there were noe paines made in the v[th] of King James

PAINES MADE IN THE VI[th] OF KING JAMES 1608

Imprimis That every tenant within this Lo[pp] shall make his part of the Waist Dike before Midsumer next, upon paine of every default ... ... iii[s] iiii[d]

Item That Ralph Turner shall lye his dunghill half a yard from the garth of Rich[d] Castley upon paine of ... vi[d]

Item That none goe over the Outflat in the Keld feild to the Mill & from the Mill from the 15th of April unto the 29th of September upon paine of ... ... xii[d]

Item We find the two houses of Rigg Hole shall have a high way with their Carriages as occasion shall serve through the Improvm[t] of George Docker late deceased as hath beene used heretofore upon paine of... ... xiii[s] iiii[d]

PAINES MADE IN THE VIIth OF KING JAMES 1609

Imprimis That none from henceforth shall putt any horses, or mares, into the ffolds at Stainebancke, till such time as the Same be made ffive foot high upon paine of ... vi[s] viii[d]

A PAINE MADE IN THE VIIIth OF KING JAMES 1610

That none shall use wayes over Laythold but such as of right are to use the same upon paine of ... ... iii[s] iiii[d]

A PAINE MADE IN THE Xth OF KING JAMES 1610

That none from henceforth shall wash any hempe or line* in the Crooked Sike upon paine of default ... ... vi[d]

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* Hemp is the coarser, lin the finer product of flax, both being spun at home. A small hamlet in the parish is called *Harden*dale. (A.S. *heordan*, "hards.")

A PAINE MADE IN THE XIIth OF KING JAMES 1614

That none shall suffer any Tupps to goe loose wthin the Comon ffeild before Allhallow-day* yearely upon paine of every default ... ... vi^{d}

A PAINE MADE IN THE XIIIth OF KING JAMES 1615

That Thomas Langhorne shall make his Smoughts three quarters high & three quarters broad to receive the water which cometh down by the Righouse from a place called . . . . . upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

A PAINE MADE IN THE 9th OF KING JAMES 1611

That none from henceforth shall sheare or mowe any Brackens or Seaves in the Waistes upon paine of every default ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

PAINES MADE IN THE XXth OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST 1622

Imprimis That all the Outringe ffences betwixt Tho: Robinson Garth heade & the Brines barn be made sufficient betwixt† & Midd April day upon paine of every default ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That noe Tenn^{t} or any other person shall take or entertaine any fforreigners or poore people into the parish that have not formerly beene Inhabitants according to the Law in that Case provided under the paine of every default ... ... vi^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That none within this Lo^{pp} doe frequent or use to goe on George Docker's land called the Gateland upon paine of ... ... xii^{d}

Item That the out Intake dike att the upper end of Shapp be made as sufficient, as the best part of itt is, before Lamas next upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That none doe use to goe over Three acres & fflatt upon paine of ... ... vi^{d}

Item That the Dike betweene Kettlekeld Well & Brinnes Becke be sufficiently made upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

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* This is the customary tupping time. At Orton they date from the fair of Oct. 25th. The precaution is a necessary one in high climates.

† After *betwixt* must be supplied *this present time*. Also after *between*. Quite common, *e.g.*, "Thou may light o' me between and Martlemas."

Item That none doe grave any Toppeates on this side Garthwaitegill foote & Langshowe side upon paine of... vi[d]

Item That none from henceforth shall play att cards but in the time of Christmas upon paine of every default ... vi[s] viii[d]

PAINES MADE IN THE XVth OF KING JAMES 1617

Imprimis That those who owe (own) the Brinds must make a sufficient Dike betwixt the same & W[m] Robinson Close before Whitsuntide next upon paine of ... iii[s] iiii[d]

Item That none wash any Cloathes or any other thing att Barnekeld well upon paine of every default ... ... iii[s] iiii[d]

Item That Will[m] Robinson shall keep the water in the right Course betwixt John Robinson and himself upon paine of every default ... ... iii[s] iiii[d]

PAINES MADE & SETT DOWNE BY THE JURY OF THE LO[PP] THIS YEARE BEING THE XVIII[th] DAY OF JUNE IN THE XIX[th] YEARE OF HIS MA:[TIES] REIGNE 1621

Imprimis That all the Tennts w[th]in the new Intake doe make their dike between Robert Hoggard close & them with Stonewall ffive foote high with Cape & Coble before Easter next, upon paine of every default ... iii[s] iiii[d]

Item That Rich[d] Jackson shall make a sufficient Yaite att the East end of the Townehead Kilne according to an agreement made in Rich[d] Jackson's time, before the 15[th] of April next upon paine of ... ... vi[s] viii[d]

Item That all the Tennts within the Rough Intake doe make their dike between Robert Hoggard & them in stone wall ffive foote high with Cape & Coble before Easter next upon paine of ev[r]y default ... ... iii[s] iiii[d]

Item that Willm Barwicke doe make Hutton Parke wall sufficient to keep the goods of y[e] Tennts of the Keld in good neighbourhood before Lamas day next upon paine of ... ... iii[s] iiii[d]

Item That the Milner of the abbey Milne doe neither sheele nor grinde any Skillinge* of any Mans dwelling in another Lo[PP] w[th]in x dayes before Christmas and vii days before Easter and Whitsuntide upon paine of every default ... ... iii[s] iiii[d]

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* Skellings or skillings are the husks. The corn is dried, then skilled, and then ground. The old rogues ground skillings very small to mix with meal. How seeds, scalings, were so ground and mixed with haver meal. This is known as "grinding Jonathan."

Item That Richard Wells doe make three water smoughts* att his fflatt head to receive the water forth of ye high-way att all times of the yeare upon paine of every default ... ... iii^s^ iiii^d^

Item That the high way between Burnet moore and the Broad mire be made 7 foot broad before Lamas day next upon paine of ev^ry^ default ... ... iii^s^ iiii^d^

PAINES MADE AND SETT DOUNE BY THE JURIE IN THE XIXth YEARE OF THE REIGNE OF KING CHARLES ANN DOM 1633

Imprimis That John Jonson shall make his garth wall att his house end sufficient between & Martinmas next upon paine of ... ... iii^s^ iiii^d^

Item That none from henceforth doe put any beastes save one on a gaite† into the Waists between St John's day & Michaelmas upon paine of ... ... vi^s^ viii^d^

Item That all the Tennts which owe the Dike betweene Raye Garth end and John Robinson his close att the Howe doe make itt five foot high with Cape & Cobble between & May day next upon paine of ev^ry^ default ... iii^s^ iiii^d^

Item That the Tennts which owe the Dike between Hesley ffold & John Robinson Close end doe make itt sufficient upon paine of ev^ry^ defaulte ... ... iii^s^ iiii^d^

Item That John Robinson of Wray doe make his Edge Wall sufficient between & Michaelmas next upon paine of ... ... iii^s^ iiii^d^

PAINES MADE IN THE XVth OF KING CHARLES 1639

Imprimis That from henceforthe Jennett Kitchinge doe make a sufficient stone wall foure foote high with Cape and Cobble betweene a Corner stone answering the barne nooke & to the gape Cheeke att the comeing into the said yard & that itt be made betwixt & Lamas upon paine of ... ... vi^s^ viii^d^

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* There are hare smoughts, water smoughts, rabbit smoughts, and hog smoughts. 'Smoughts' are 'holes.' Icelandic *smuga*, "a narrow cleft to creep through, a hole." A.S. *smugan*, "to creep." Locally pronounced "smoots." See B. Kirkby's *Lakeland Words*, p. 135.—"Aye, hares, rabbits, geese, likewise ducks an' hens, an' sometimes tweea legg'd uns 'ill smoot through a whol if it's easier ner climmin."

† A gaite is free pasturage on common ground. The number of gates to each farm varies, as also the quantity of stock that may be put on. One cow or one horse or four sheep to a gate is the usual portion.

Item that the Tennts of Shappe that owe any dike betwixt the Key garth still & the Close of Craston, that itt be made ffive foote highe with Cape & Cobble betwixt and mid April day rente upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That uxor Robinson and John Cloudsdall doe make a sufficient Yatt att the garth head att sev^{r}all times of the yeare upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

PAINES RENEWED ATT THE COURT BARRON HOLDEN AT SHAPP THE 5th OF NOVEMBER 1668

MANNOR OF SHAPPE

Imprimis That noe Tennt or any other person whatsoever within the Lo^{pp} doe put any Horses or Mares in the Waistes between St John's Day & Michaelmas upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That noe Tennt or any other person whatsoever putt any Horses or Mares in the townehead Intake between St John's day & Michaelmas day upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That noe Tennt or any other person whatsoever putt any Horses or Mares in the towne end Intake between St John's & Michaelmas day upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That noe Tennt or any other person whatsoever putt any Horses or Mares in the Rough Intake betweene St John's Day & Michaelmas Day upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That noe Tennt or any other person whatsoever suffer any Horses or Mares to lye in the Teather in the night time between the fifteenth day of April and the 29th of September upon paine of every defaulte ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That noe Mares and ffoales be Teathered in the ffeild betweene the fifteenth day of April and the 29th of September upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item That noe Tennt or any other person whatsoever within the Lo^{pp} of Shapp shall putt any Goods loose into the Comon Corne ffeild before the Corne be all generally gott in without the consent of the ffeild keepers, betweene the ffifteenth of April & the 29th of September upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

We doe approve hereof

William Brisco

John Gunter

PAINES MADE & RENEWED BY YE JURIE IN THE XX OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND 1670

ffirst that none within this Lopp shall entertaine or keep any man or woman after he or she be knowne to have comitted ffornication, whoevr entertains the man is to pay ... ... xiiis iiiid

Wee doe approve of the renewinge of this paine for that we are informed . . . . paine only wee doe not thinke fitt that Parents be hereby debarrd from allowing to their children subsistance, in case Such Parents take care to prevent the charge which otherwise may be imposed upon the parish

Wm Brisco Steward
Jo: Gunter

The New Intacke Stinte as by a generall consent the 4th day of June 1671. Whereas the Pasture was formerly charged with 18teen dalts, 5 beast & gate to a dalt ; by this consent & agreemt they have reduced the Stinte of the said Pasture from ffive to three. And that the said Pasture be constantly putt to upon the ffirst day of June.

PAINES MADE IN THE YEAR 1671

ffirst that noe Cottager or Inmate doe digg or grave any hassacks or fflaxturves* within the Towne or about the waye in any part thereof at any time of the yeare upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iiis iiiid

Item That all the Tennts of Thorneshippe doe make their Intake wall sufficient before the 15th of April, & Michaelmas day following upon paine of every defaulte iiis iiiid

Item That wall & ffences upon the ffar side be made sufficient betwixt & the 25th day of March upon paine every defaulte ... ... iiis iiiid

Item That the Meare Sike betwixt the Hallgarth foote & the Brinds head be sufficiently cleansed and dressed betwixt & the 15th day of April next upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iiis iiiid

Likewise itt is proved by Richd Meason that John Meason shall bringe his vestures† from the foresaid Close out of

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* Hassacks are rounded tufts of grass used to top stacks with, or, when shaped and dressed, to kneel upon in pews. Flaxturves, also known as eldings or prickings, are the top sod after the ling has been burnt. 'Flax' alone is used of turves for "happing up 'taties" or turnips in heaps. Akin to flag, which in East Anglian counties, says Cleasby and Vigfusson's Icel. Dict., means a turf as well as a stone.

† Vestures in old law are everything, except trees, that grows or forms the covering of the land.

the high gappe, and streight over the ground of Thomas Holme unto his owne close lyeing south of the same without disturbance of the said Thomas Holme upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Willm Brisco } Comission^{rs}
John Gunter }

PAINES MADE BY THE JURY THIS YEARE 1680.

Imprimis That noe Tennt or any other person shall wash any uncleane thing att the chappel well, nor betwixt that well & Care bridge upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Wee finde the two houses of Rigg hole to have a way over the Rigg now in the possession of Marg^{t} Lowis their Church way. Markett waye. Kilne waye, & their waye in ffogg time; and if any Tennt or other person doe stopp either of the said two houses, shall be under the paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

proved by Richd Jackson
& Tho: Wells

It is ordered by the Jury that every ancient house within this Lordshipp shall serve the office of a Constable by turne & Garthrow, and that all those persons that have bought any land of or from the foresaid ancients shall be lyable to the charge of a Constable according to their Severall pportions of Rent, upon paine of every defaulte ... ... vi^{s} viii^{d}

PAINES MADE IN THE YEARE OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND IN THE YEARE OF OUR L^{D} GOD 1681

Imprimis that Richd Jackson now of Shapp head his heires and assignes shall make a sufficient yaite and hinge the same att the East End of the Townehead Kilne, & keep the same in sufficient repaire att all times of the yeare upon paine of ... ... vi^{s} viii^{d}

Item it is ordered by the Jury that noe person or persons whatsoever shall goe or make any wayes through the Townefeilds on the West side of Shapp, but only on the ancient accustomed high wayes upon paine of ... vi^{s} viii^{d}

ffurther it is ordered by the Jury that noe Tennt or ffarmer within this Lo^{pp} Shall grinde or Scheele* any Wheate,

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* Scheele = to take the husk off: variously pronounced and spelt.

Bigg,* Barley, Pease or the like groweing within this Lo^{pp} att any other Mill but only at my Lord Wharton's Mill, except they can shew a lawfull Cause to the Contrary upon paine of ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Tho: ffletcher

PAINES MADE IN THE 35th YEARE OF KING CHARLES THE SECOND

Imprimis That noe Tennt within this Lo^{pp} or any other person shall entertaine any Vagabonds or poore people above one night upon paine of ... ... vi^{s} viii^{d}

Item that noe Tennt within this Lo^{pp} or any person shall Teather any mares & ffoales in the ffeilds betweene the 15th day of April & the 29th of September upon paine of vi^{s} viii^{d}

PAINES MADE BY THE JURY THE YEARE 1685

It is ordered by the Jury that John Bennett shall dresse the Water Course betweene William Robinson well & the North side of his Garden where John Smith receiveth it upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

PAINES MADE IN THE THIRD [YEARE] IN THE REIGNE OF KING JAMES THE SECOND & IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD 1686

It is ordered by this Jury that noe Tennt or any other person within the Towneshipp of Shapp shall grave Turves or Backsodds† betweene & the fforce becke & Docker becke and soe from thence to Thomas Robinsons att the Towneend upon paine of every defaulte ... ... xii^{d}

Likewise itt is ordered by this Jury that John Alexander William Kitching & Jacob Airey shall make the high waye att the Easte End of Reckonber‡ sufficient thereat before & Midsumer upon paine of every defaulte ... ... iii^{s} iiii^{d}

Allowed by

Tho: Fletcher

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* Bigg is a border word, a coarse kind of barley with four rows on each head, *Hordeum vulgare*. Icelandic *bygg;* not Anglo-Saxon.

† The distinctions in usage of the various names of turves are very subtle, but I think the backsodds may be the backing peats put on the hearth to keep the fire smouldering slowly, especially at night.

‡ Reckonber is the local pronunciation of Brackenber, which is that part of Shap adjoining the Railway Station on the west.

PAINES MADE IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD 1690

It is ordered by this present Jury that none from henceforth doe drive any loose goods through the Keld ffeild from the gaitelands foote to the Broad mire betweene the 15th day of April & Michaelmas or such time as the Cropp be gotten in upon paine of every defaulte ... iiis iiiid

Tho: Fletcher
Steward

It is ordered by the Jury that every ancient house wthin this Loppp shall serve the duty of a grave* to collect my Ldls Rente by Turne & garthrow, & that all those psons that have bought any Land of or from the aforesaid ancients shall be lyable to beare a proportionable share to the said duty according to the said Rent upon paine of evry defaulte ... ... vis viiid

THE SECOND DAY OF DECEMBR 1686

Upon the presentmt of a parcell of ground called Dayelands adjoyneing upon another parcell called Enterbancke now in difference betweene Mr Henry Dalton & Richd Robinson on the one ptie and John Atkinson on the other ptie.

Wee the Jurye of the Mannor of Shapp haveing surveyed the sd ground in Question and haveing heard the allegations on both sides doe finde according to the utmost of our knowledge that John Atkinson's ground comes lineally from the division of Richd Robinson's dayland & John Atkinson's dayland unto a Meare Stone or Marke att the lowest nooke of Richd Robinson's ground called Enterbancke and soe forward.

Wee the Jury doe therefore order that from henceforth the said Henry Dalton & Richd Robinson shall . . . . . ground beyond that lineally . . . . . unless they prove the contrary upon paine of ... ... iiis iiiid

THE 11th OF DECEMBER 1704

It is agreed on this day by the Jury of Shapp that Jonathan Suart shall have that house that his ffather had dureing his life, & that he shall not lett that house to any person whatsoevr provided always that the sd Jonathan doe keep the said house in good & sufficient repaire, or else to turn out att any yeare end

Witnesse my hand
Jonathan Suart

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* Grave=grieve. Professor Wright considers this usage obsolete for the last 200 years.

THE 21st OF MAY 1712

A paine made this day by the Jury of Shappe that noe Tennt within this Lorshipp, nor any other person shall burne any Linge* above halfe an acre upon paine of ... ... vis viiid

Item this day itt is agreed upon by the abovesaid Jury that none shall sumon the Jury to meet, unless they pay one shilling to the Bayliffe or fforeman of Jury

PAINE MADE IN THE THIRD YEAR OF KING GEORGE ANNO DOM 1717

It is ordered by this present Jury that the way between Thorneshipp & Keld be made eight ffoot broad upon paine of six shillings and eight pence upon default

Item it is likewise ordered by the sd Jurey that no Tenant nor any other person or persons do put any Beass or Horses into Shapp ffield after the 25th day of March till the Corne be in house upon paine of Six Shillings & Eight pence for every default

Agreed to by Ric Baynes Steward
Wm Waller Comr

PAINS MADE IN THE EIGHT YEAR OF KING GEORGE ANNOQU: DOMI 1722

It is ordered by this present Jurey that the Gate called the Tutty Yate is to be mentained by the Inhabitants of the now dwelling house of Elizabeth Kitching called the Townend house, proved by John Robinson, Henry ffothergill & George Langhorne for Sixty years, upon paine of Six Shillings and Eightpence that the sd Inhabitants and owners of the sd House Repaire the same for the future upon paine affores[d] 1 Jany 1722

Agreed to by Ric Baynes Steward

OCTOBER THE 15th 1747

The Jurors for the Manor of Shapp upon their oaths present that the way for Cart and Carriage to John Robinson's High Intacks wherein now standeth a House lyes through the High Intack now belonging to Emmy Pooley, where the said John Robinson his heirs or assigns may go at their pleasure to and from the said Intack with Cart and Carriage only, the said John Robinson to take care of the Gates during the time he makes use of the same

Witness
Thomas ffothergill
fforeman

I John Hugill do hereby declare that I heard Jona(than) Pooley several Times acknowledge the above way.

* Ling is burnt to provide a walk or run for the sheep, to let the juicy shoots grow for pasturage, and for the cutting of flax turves.

ART. X.—*Chancellor Burn and the Quakers.* By the Rev. J. WHITESIDE, M.A.

Communicated at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

THE Rev. Edward Holme, vicar of Orton, has kindly allowed me to examine a correspondence, which is preserved in the church chest, between his distinguished predecessor, Chancellor Burn, and several earnest members of the Society of Friends.

In volume i., pp. 536-540, of Nicolson and Burn's *History*, under Kirkby Stephen, there is a lengthy footnote with extracts from "two very notable pamphlets," written by Francis Higginson. As these were extremely scarce, it was thought not amiss to preserve in the *History* some of their contents. These extracts gave rise to the correspondence, and it would seem right that, if any statements in a work of such repute are questionable, they should be corrected.

(1) The first letter, dated April 19th, 1778, is from Thomas Harrison, a Kendal attorney, who, addressing Dr. Burn as "Dear Friend," encloses a long epistle from his brother in London respecting the extracts.

(2) This letter of George Harrison, April 15th, 1778, refers to an extract in the *Monthly Review* of the preceding March, which gave an account of the first Quakers on the authority of the *History*. G. Harrison says he was much surprised that a writer of Dr. Burn's reputation and abilities should sanction a narrative of such suspicious origin. Further, that the marks of prejudice were so evident as to make many readers suppose the historian to be credulous or wanting in Christian charity. He therefore requests his brother to communicate to Dr. Burn some remarks sent by "a particular friend" to the *Monthly Review*, and to ask him, in case of a second edition, to

qualify the "rancorous tale of Parson Higginson," who had been, as the Chancellor says, "very active against Quakers."

I imagine the brother Thomas Harrison to have left the Friends or to have incurred their displeasure, for George refers to the "predicament thou stands in with the Society."

(3) Next we have a copy of the letter of the "particular friend," bearing no date or signature, to the editor of the *Review*, who by adding to the incriminated extract the epithet "curious" had given it their sanction—*i.e.*, in the writer's opinion. By way of commentary on the *History*, I had better quote *verbatim* almost the whole of this letter :—

It seems somewhat extraordinary that a gentleman of Dr Burn's great & deserved Reputation in the literary world should have thought it fair to draw from its obscurity a paper written at a time when the minds of most men were heated with religious prejudice, & when the Clergy more particularly were irritated against the Quakers because their tenets, opposing the venal support of the priesthood, sapped the very foundation of its splendour & authority. Nor perhaps did they scruple to add the epithet of hireling to those who, making a trade of religion, brought it into disrepute among the people.

At the Quarter Sessions at Appleby in Westmorland in January, 1652, James Naylor, a Quaker, was tried for blasphemy. The Trial is still extant, & it appears from thence that Higginson, Vicar of Kirkby Stephen, was a Promoter of that Prosecution. Naylor was then honorably discharged, nothing of that kind being proved against him, unless it be reckon'd Blasphemy to oppose Higginson's Assertion, repeated in open Court, that "Christ is in Heaven with a carnal Body." Both the Temper of the good Vicar & the complexion of his Divinity may perhaps be infer'd from this Anecdote.*

It must not however be denied that the same James Naylor afterwards fell into Delusions of the Imagination, scarcely short of

* The particular friend, in these two sentences, is a careless critic. Higginson had certainly said that "Christ is in Heaven with a carnal body," but at the trial he carefully explained what he meant by carnal—*i.e.*, real, fleshly, or of flesh, and not as it is used in the Scriptures in the tense of what is opposed to holy and spiritual.

Insanity. He was then disown'd by the Quakers, yet some eminent writers have taken Occasion from this Instance, and a few others of the like kind, to charge those Irregularities upon the Principles of the Society, for which Individuals alone ought to be responsible.

The evidence of Higginson carries with it all the marks of that wanton exaggeration, which characterizes personal Animosity. The charge is supported by no Proof. Gerard Croese, indeed, in his History of the Quakers, mentions a Petition from the Ministers, & Sundry other Persons of Lancashire, against George Fox, James Naylor. and their Associates, in which they are accused of foaming at the mouth in their Conventicles, & of other strange Agitations; & G. Fox in particular of having said that he was equal to God, the only Judge of the World, Christ, the Way, the Truth & the Life. One James Milner was also charged with saying that he was God & Christ, and with prophesying that the Day of Judgment was at Hand, that there shou'd be no more Justices in Lancashire, & that the Parliament should be pluckt up by the Roots. Higginson's Narrative & this Petition bear striking Marks of Affinity with each other & probably sprung from the same Source. Croese, however, who was no Quaker, nor is his History partial to the Quakers, acknowledges "that these charges were so compleatly refuted that it was apparent they who invented them were wicked Men & they who believed in them were Fools." He excepts the mad Presumption of Milner, whom he says the Quakers rebuked. The Truth is, that as the Quakers for the Reason abovemention'd were especially singled out as the objects of Priestly Indignation, every Rumour to their Disadvantage was eagerly adopted & frequently spread with Circumstances of Aggravation. Thus a Vicar of Wakefield, whose Name was Marshall, reported of George Fox *that he rode upon a great black Horse & was seen within an Hour at two Places sixty miles distant from each other.* If the Papers of this Vicar were narrowly searched into, perhaps it might be found recorded as his opinion that the first Quakers were witches. It must notwithstanding be acknowledged that it was not unusual for some of the most zealous to go sometimes into the public Places of Worship & after the Preacher had finished his Discourse, to reprove both Priest & People for Practices which they considered as superstitious or antichristian.

Amongst the Swarm of Sects which distinguished the last Century, there was One, of which little is now known, but that the Practices of its adherents outraged all Decency & order. They were called Ranters. The Enemies of the Quakers found it frequently suitable to their Purpose to confound them with this Ephemeron Sect, whose Principles were, nevertheless, totally incompatible with those of

the Quakers. There is a Paper still extant written by Edward Burroughs, an active Preacher among the Quakers, against the licentious Practices of those People.

Hume & Voltaire are two remarkable Instances of the Facility with which Reports respecting the Quakers have been received & propagated. The first of these Historians cites (from Echard) an odd Compound of Affectation & Rudeness as the Address of the Quakers to James the 2nd on his Accession to the Throne, in which there is not one Sentence of the real Address: The latter relates (Lettres sur les Anglais) a Story of George Fox's Preaching from the Pillory to a large Auditory, who were so affected with his Discourse that they released him & put the Minister who prosecuted him in his Place; which is equally destitute of Foundation.

It is hoped that the learned & respectable Authors of the Work alluded to will, in a future Edition, do the first Quakers the Justice to abate the Degree of Faith given to Higginson's Testimony, & that in the meantime the Known Candour of the Authors of the *Monthly Review* will admit these Exceptions to the Truth of it.

Of this letter I would observe that the critic himself, for a gentle and peace-loving friend, uses sufficiently strong language against the clergy. Having myself repeated a tale of Parson Higginson's in a recent paper on "Shap Church," I was relieved to find the candid admission above that zealous Quakers were in the habit of publicly rebuking the priest in church for superstitious practices.

(4) The next letter is from George Bewley, of Kendal, March 30th, 1778:—

Richd Burn

In my perusal of the History of Westmorland lately published by thee & J. Nicolson, I very unexpectedly met with the Revival of many heavy Accusations cast upon the People called Quakers at their first appearance in this County, which I find were answered soon after their Publication by those immediately concerned.

By thy own Account, F. Higginson, the Author or Publisher of these Accusations was the professed Adversary of that People, and concerned in the Prosecutions (or rather Persecutions) which were carried on against them.

This should naturally have suspended thy Judgment, until thou hadst also examined their answer, which probably might have prevented this Republication, or at least have led thee to confront

their Reply with the Extravagancies & Disorders charged upon them, if thy Intention was solely to revive & perpetuate Matters of Fact—But the unnecessary Introduction of this Matter (which has no Connexion that I can see with the Subject of the History) from the Representation of one of the Parties only, too plainly indicates thy Intention to have been thereby to cast an Odium upon the present religious Society of the Quakers, who have long approved themselves in the Eyes of the Nation to be a peaceable and quiet People, and are even generally acknowledged to be a respectable Body.

If thou hadst desired or designed to give to the World a just & fair Narrative of their Principles and Practice (which an Historian ought to do) thou couldst not have been at a Loss for Information, if thou hadst perused the Books which they published in the early Part of their appearance, from whence alone the proper Information is to be obtained—for as they were only justly responsible for what they themselves publicly held forth and maintained, and not for what others falsely imputed to them, so their Doctrines should be wholly taken from their own Works.

Thou hast well said the Opposition made to their Progress was preposterous, but I cannot allow it was well meant as thou hast also confidently asserted. A Multiplicity of Instances might be adduced (if necessary) wherein the said People, for peaceably assembling together to worship God in solemn Reverence and awe, and for declaring what they believed their indispensible Duty to declare & for no other Reason, were haled out of their meetings, violently beaten & abused conducted to Prison & treated there as the worst of Thieves and Murderers, until some of them finished their Days in this oppressive & undeserved Confinement.

What shadow of a well meant Intention does there appear or could there be in inflicting such Hardships (or rather Cruelties) on at least a morally innocent People ?

And had the Priests (who were generally the Instigators to this Treatment) really believed them to be in Error & under a Deception, could they not have used rational Endeavour to convince or reclaim them ? But now though a great Clamor was raised & a mighty Stir made in granting Warrants against them, apprehending them, putting them in Prison and bringing them to Trial, let me seriously query of thee, whom did they ever injure either in Property or Person ? Their very Adversaries in all their Trials scarcely ever (and then falsely) laid any Accusations of that kind against them.

What then did they so highly offend in ? The Sum of the whole Matter was that they publicly yet peaceably declared the Principles they professed & supported them by Scripture Evidence, & called

the People to consider everyone for themselves, & no longer rest on the Teachings of Men, who only preached for Hire & divined for Money & said the Lord said, when the Lord had not spoken unto them; but submissively attend to the Dictates of divine Grace inwardly manifested to every Man during the Day of his Visitation, that they thereby might come to a living and saving knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

What occasion then was there for the Tumults & Oppositions which the Priests stirred up and excited amongst the People, if they meant to act well? For they & such as assisted them were the sole cause of the many Disturbances which ill-designing Malice charged upon this Innocent People.

If they had disapproved of their Doctrines they might either quietly have held such opinions & Tenets as they themselves did approve, or else (as hinted above) have laboured in a true Christian Spirit of Meekness to rectify what they thought erroneous by rational & candid arguments. But the Truth was, they found the spreading of the plain Christian Doctrines, which the people called Quakers were conscientiously concerned to declare, tended to spoil their Trade, and therefore they were unwilling the People should be persuaded to think for themselves, lest by having their Eyes opened into the Freedom of the Gospel Dispensation, they should no longer tamely and tacitly submit to the yokes of Superstition and Priest-craft, which were derived and still retained from the Innovations of the apostatized Church of Rome. Notwithstanding the Violence of all this opposition, God who called them was with them and brought them through, and in the Course of his providence has granted them a time of outward ease and liberty, which some amongst them have received with ingratitude, having deviated from the steps of their Predecessors & fallen into a servile imitation of and conformity to several of the prevalent customs & fashions of the times, which they bore a strict testimony against; which Testimony a number amongst them, who have come up in the same simplicity of obedience are still concerned to perpetuate, although there is this great & visible declension in others.

The indirect attack made upon the Quakers by the manner of this publication must I apprehend upon candid consideration appear to thyself (as I doubt not it will to the sensible readers of the passage) illiberal & very unfair; and therefore I think it is incumbent upon thee, either publicly to reprobate & condemn this unjust dealing, or publish thy objections (if thou hast any to make) against the Doctrines* professed & acknowledged by the present Society of the Quakers in a direct plain and undisguised manner, that they may

have a fair opportunity of writing in their own justification & defence.

From a lover of Truth and a wellwisher to all mankind.

Geo: Bewley.

* I have said Doctrines only, because if the practices of any members of the Society are not consistent with their Established Doctrines, they stand ipso Facto condemned by them—and it would be equally just to condemn the Church of England for the enormous wickedness of some of its members as to calumniate the Quakers as a Society for the Misconduct of some of their Disorderly Members.

(5) The last letter is the rough copy of the reply of Dr. Burn through the "authors of the *Monthly Review*" to the particular friend :—

Orton Ap 22 1778.

Dr Sr, I have c favr of yrs inclosg a copy of a letter to c Monthly Reviewers, w wch I am as much concernd as c Reviewers. As to c substantial proof wof, my ansr s, ct I hav always manifested, & (I trust) will alws b willg & desirous to manifest my sincere regard for c pent genern of quakers, as (in my opinion) living up to c principles cy profess better cn ocr denominns of Xns. And if any umbrage may b supposed to b taken at wt I hav advancd in c passage referd to, I cnk c wat yr brocr proposes s very right, & in case of a 2d Edn I will certainly take care to qualify ct matter ct no occn ma b taken for c future.

Havg sd cus much; I beg leave to make an observn or two. I am charged, in c letter to c Reviewers (I do not know how it has hapd) wc *credulity*, in trustg too implicitely in some *unpublished* (as supposed) memoirs of one Mr Higginson, vicar of K. St. I c book I say ct Mr H. writ 2 notable pamphlets agt Quakers, & ct I hd seen a printed copy crof cr r ansrs, & replies, & rejoinders, & surrejoinders.

The facts really wr nt denied . c quakers recriminated upon c ministers & justices . and boc parties, I doubt not, chargd cr antagonists justly enough. The enthusiasts seem for c time to hav bn actually out of cr senses: the persecutors [c mrs & justices] acted like madmen under ocr direction cn influence of cr reason. But how c quakers & c mrs of c psnt da shd cnk cmselves concernd wc wt quakers & mrs said or did 127 ys ago I must own is beyond my comprehension.

I rec^{d} a lr some tim ago fm a friend of y^{rs} Mr Geo Bewley (a quaker) wm I hav nt c hon^{r} to know. He wl nt allow ct c mrs & justices meant well in persecutg Nailor, & rest of cm: But cs point I wd^{nt} hav scrupl^{d} t give up t cm, ca' all psecutrs fm c days of St Paul to c time psnt, hav had a knack of psuadg cmselves, ct crin cy do G service, i.e. in playg c devil for h'^{s} sake.

M^{r} B also challenges me t publish my obj^{ns} ag^{t} c doctrines of c psent society of Q^{s}. I c^{d} hav ansrd ct challenge by sayg I h^{d} no objectns to make, hav^{g} no inclinon to ntr into any controversy of ct kind.

Bt cr s one cng wch must needs intercept all ,munion betw us, & puts it intirely out of my power to ans^{r} s lr, or to take any notice of t; and ct is cs: I hav s^{d} in c b. ct c quakers wr rend^{d} ,sidbl by opposn; & ct by lettg cm alone, cy ar coming ab^{t} of cmselves, & in c next genn cr formal absurdities wd b no more heard of.

Now what does cs gentleman ans^{r} to c^{s}? He says, "Notwc^{stg} c violence of oppositn, God who call^{d} cm (c quakers) ws wc cm & brot cm cro', & in c crse of s providence has grant^{d} cm a time of outw^{d} ease, libty, *wch some amongst cm have recd wc ingratitude, having deviated fm c steps of cr pdecessors, , fallen into a servile imitn , formity to sevl of c pvalent customs & fashions of c times*, wch cy bore a strict testimony ag^{t}; wch testimony a number amongst cm, wo hav come up in c same simplicity of obedience are still ,cern^{d} to ppetuate, alco' cr b *cs great & visible declensn in ocrs*."

Now I take cs to b one great blow struck at a vast numb of y own particlr acquaintance.—yourself, my dear friend, in c front rank; about half a dozen ocrs in c toun of K. & (I ma add) ab^{t} 99 in a hund^{d} of all quakers in c Km. Now ma nt cs b deem^{d} a very xtrody case if I must b found fault wc only for sayg ct a grt while ago half a dozen silly women ran naked about c streets of K wc a parcel of schlboys at cr heels, uttering nonsense ["blasphemies & absurdies" erased]; and anocr gentleman shd receive no rebuke fr charging some of c most respectable wc ingratitude, backslidg, servility & deviating fm c steps of cr more worthy prdecessors.

Bt some p^{s} h^{d} better steal c horse cn ocrs look over c hedge. And so c aucor of c letter to c monthly reviewers wo is nt willg ct I shl^{d} call Nailor an Enthusiast, yet mslf says ct Nailor fell into delusn of imaginn, scarcely short of profanity.

P.S. My valuabl old friend Mr Thos Rebanks w^{d} sometimes convert me (observg in me, I suppose, at sm time, some tokens of Grace). And I promis^{d} m, ct if ever I chang^{d} my relgn I w^{d} turn quaker. Ay, says he, bt cr ar c loaves, fishes in c way: if cou wlt forego cy tempy emolumts, I shl soon ,vince cce by argumt: but w^{t} can argum^{t} do ag^{t} solid metal? (as much as to say accordg to c old phraseology, "Thou hireling, thou.")

B^{t} I beg pardon for expatiatg on cis subj^{t} ncing indeed could hav xtorted t fm me bt a zeal for c honour of so many of my worthy friends, wm I conceive to b greatly injur^{d} by cese unkind aspersions.

I have no evidence that the letter was actually sent as given above; indeed, the rough copy must have been materially altered in many sentences. But the result of a comparison of the correspondence with the original extract is that one's respect for the great Chancellor as a fair-minded and reliable historian is not at all diminished, and that one sees very little in the *History* that needs erasure or correction. The correspondents admit a good deal, and on other points they give consent by silence.

A little practice will decipher Dr. Burn's shorthand.

ART. XI.—*The Sixteen Men of Holme Cultram.* By FRANCIS GRAINGER.

Communicated at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

THE title "Sixteen Men" may seem a strange one, referring as it does not to any individuals personally, but to a body of men—sixteen in number—who for the past 350 years have existed as a species of local parliament. Such a body was not, I think, peculiar to Holme Cultram, but existed in other manors—notably in the Honor of Penrith, which was in the sixteenth century, like Holme Cultram, in the hands of the Crown.

The date of the institution of this body is lost in obscurity. It is extremely probable that the abbot of Holme would have some body of men on whom he could rely for the muster of horsemen. That such musters were readily raised is clear by the evidence of witnesses called about the northern insurrection in 1536, and at the dissolution of the abbey two years later the "inhabitants" petitioned Cromwell for the building as a parish church—no doubt the inhabitants as represented by the "sixteen men."

On the 8th October, 1555, a dispute having arisen as to the method of tithe paying, a Commission was appointed to determine the matter. The Commissioners consisted of John Dacre, clerk (brother of Lord Dacre); Thomas Salkeld of Whitehall, William Musgrave of Newton, esquires; and John Ellis, gentleman. The decision of the Commission was that certain money payments should be substituted for payment in kind. The inhabitants were represented by a body of men who accepted the decision, and who were doubtless the "sixteen men."

In 1570 another Commission assembled in the nave of Holme Cultram, presided over by Lord Scrope, Warden

of the Marches, who had associated with him Anthony Barwise, John Dalston, and George Lamplugh, well-known Cumberland names. The Commission was to ascertain and fix the customs and rentals of the tenants, the Crown wishing to raise the rents, to which the tenants of course objected. A jury of twenty-four "antient and sage tenants" were chosen, on whose verdict the custom of the manor was established, and a bargain entered into with the tenants that on condition of their undertaking the charge of repairing the seadyke the timber growing in Wedholme Wood should be handed over by the Crown for the purposes of repairing this defence.

The agreement entered into at that time is still in existence. It is a parchment document, measuring 28in. by 20in., and bears the seal of Elizabeth in red wax. The grant reads as follows:—

And alsoe to maynteyne upholde and kepe from tyme to tyme herinafter the repairs of the Seadykes wthin the said lordshippe att theyr owne costs and chardges wch hitherto haith bene chardgeable to her higness and shall paye all other duties and service as before they have agreed to doe And we the said Com'ssioners have concluded and agreed to and with the said Tent's that they shall have the Woods growinge in Wedholme Wood for and towardes the reparacon of the Seadykes within the Lordshipp of Holme and that they shalle appointe foure of the Antient Teñts to ov'see and delv'r the saide Woode from tyme to tyme as nede shall require, they to continue in the saide room or place one yere except ther be a cause to remove them, and att the ende of ev'ye yere to electe and appointe a newe for the same place for the bett^{r} pservacon of the Woods; and the Jurie sayeth that the chardge of the Seadykes to be repayred from the now dwellinghouse of Ro^{bt} Tayler att Skynborneys unto one place called John Askews hoole.

This ancient earthwork still exists, running south from the village of Skinburness about one mile, and protecting the land which formed part of Silloth Grange, and which would be overflowed by high tides. Probably the ancient dyke was erected about the time of the destruction of the port of Skinburness by the sea early in the fourteenth

century, and up to the beginning of the nineteenth century a continuous struggle went on between the sea and the "sixteen" for the mastery.

The first actual mention of the "sixteen" is in the deposition of witnesses in a tithe suit in 1586. Four members of the "sixteen" were appointed as lessees of Marbeck's lease of tithes which had cost the parish £400. The document affirms "that the sayd leasse and assignemente was . . . put into a good cheaste in the sayde Churche of Holme Cultrame where of foure lockes weare also hanged. Thomas Hardinge had the custodye and keepenge of one of the keyes of the same locke and thre of the sayd sixteene persones the other thre keyes."

A combination of 140 tenants objected to the jurisdiction of the "sixteen"—"supposinge and alledginge that they were not lawfully appoynted by consent of the p^{sh}oners there."

The "sixteen" men were elected by the tenants themselves in the Manor Court. The election generally took place in the sixteenth century at the September Court, and at the following monthly Court in November or December the new body came into office. The term of office was generally for three years; a foreman was appointed and four woodwards, who had the charge of Wedholme Wood. The members of the "sixteen" were chosen four from each "quarter" into which the manor was divided under the first institution of the Poor Rate under Elizabeth.

The duties of the "sixteen" were numerous and important. They were:—

The maintaining and repairing the seadykes, and care of Wedholme Wood.
The care of the three bridges.
The levying of all rates and taxes.
The appointment of schoolmaster and clerk.
The custody of parish stock (money).
The supervision of the churchwardens' and overseers' accounts.

They were also often chosen as a court of appeal or as arbitrators.

The work of the "sixteen" in the period 1568-1625 is described in the "Chambers Family" (these *Transactions*, vol. i., N.S., p. 213), and in 1603 John Barne and William Chambers through some non-payment of money in a tithe suit with Sir Arthur Alye were committed to the Fleet prison, and "continued 13 dayes in the Fleete lyinge on the bords—they were so poore."

The earliest records of this body are lost; isolated minutes occur from 1599 to 1630. From that date until 1884 (when the "sixteen men" were lost in the Seadyke Charity Scheme) the records are fairly perfect. The first minute book covers the period 1630-1721, and measures 6in. by 7½in.; the second book deals with the period 1721-1839; a third book bring the records up to 1884.

The first minute book begins with the somewhat grandiloquent title, "The Actes of the Sixteen Men of the Lor^pp of Holme Coltraime, elected and chosen wth consent of the said Lor^pp whose names doe follow." After enumerating those tenants chosen as Sixteen Men in 1630 comes the following entry:—

Alsoe we the Said XVI doe appoint for Wood Wardes (for the Wood of Wedham) those whose names doe follow viz^l

{ Mr Thomas Senhouse { Thomas Austen
{ Mr John Chamber { Harbart Huddert

They must come twice ev'ie yeare vizt at Michaelmas and Mayday and to the best of their knowledge certifye the said XVI what wood shalbe sold or carryed out of the said Wood of Wedham.

The time of meeting was fixed "betwene the houres of nigne and eleaven of the clock on the fore-none."

Next follows an agreement entered into in 1607 for the payment of schoolmaster and parish clerk, the assessment being "4^d for each tenant paying xviii^d rent and 2^d for cottingers." This tax amounted to £7 3s. a year, and was due every year at Easter, this money payment being in lieu of the old payment in meal.

In 1630 Sir Richard Graham obtained an order from the King to have 90 of the best oak trees in Wedholme. The "sixteen men" were justly indignant, and petitioned the King in the name of Henry Askew, their foreman. The petition came before the King at his Court at Theobalds, 14th September, 1630, and the matter was referred to the Lord Keeper and Lord Treasurer to enquire and report, the order being signed "Dorchester." The answer of the King bears date 13th October, and is signed "R. Coventrye, R. Weston."

In 1633 a Commission by the Archbishop of York ordered the "adorning of the church." A fourth part of one year's copyhold rent was levied, and brought in £72 8s. 5d.

In 1636 ship money is levied to the extent of £9 6s. for the manor, and 4s. for the vicar.

In 1637 trouble arose with the Crown about the "improvements"—viz., encroachments on the common pasture, and a full half-year's rent was raised, amounting to £150.

The following year the church being in "decay," an assessment was levied of 4d. per "horseplace," 3d. per "footeplace," and 2d. per cottinger, or "young man of abilitie in stocke."*

In 1640 a demand was made on the parish for "xxxiiij^{s} viij^{d} for the weeklie rates of viij^{d} per weeke for ye prison's in gaole Kings Bench and Marshallsie, and for the reliefe of souldiers maimed in his Maties service."

In 1647 the "woodwardes were requested to set forthe wood for the use of the seadyke to the valew of twenty six fudder."

The various law-suits cost the parish a substantial sum.

1637 March 25

M^{r}. The Tax sett downe by ye 16 men of ye Lo^{pp} of Holme.

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* See these *Transactions*, N.S., i., p. 212.

	£	s	d
The Halfe Yeares Rent is	150	7	8
Imp^mt^ Tax is	80	10	0
The Tax for ye colt Parke is	29	12	6
The Tax for ye Burning Meadow is	8	0	0
The Tax for Marrow Nooke is	6	0	0
Sum	274	2	6

	£	s	d
Layd forth when Mr T^ho^ Senhouse Mr J^o^ Osmotherly went to London the 3^d^ day of Aprill	64	9	3
and they borrowed of John ffisher at London ...	36	0	0
wch 36 £ is unpayed but it hath cost the parish ...	60	0	0
The next Journey to London by Henry Askew June ye 13, 1637	10	0	0
Nov 4. 1637 When Hen Askew & Antho Barwis went to London	20	0	0
More borrowed by them of Jo. Glaister	10	0	0
For wch was pay^d^ again	18	0	0
Feb 6. 1637. When Hen Askew went upp himselfe	10	0	0
at wch tyme he borrowed of Mr Tickell	10	0	0
and also of Mr John Glaister	2	0	0
wch was paid by ye Parishners againe			
Nov. 7. 1638 When Robt Osmotherly went to London	5	0	0
he borrowed of John Ffisher	10	0	0
April 1641. Mr Cuth Orfeur had of ye Parish for Suite	20	0	0
Jan 1637. When J^o^ Askew went to Newcastle to speake with Mr Tickell	1	5	6
1637 More to Hen Askew & other charges in the County	9	6	11
The Grave Shippe of Lees caused ye Parish to spend in proving ye justice of ye Taske	120	0	0
More payd to Mr Briscoe & Mr Tickell	60	0	0
Sum	397	12	8

The appointment of the parish schoolmaster, with which office was generally associated that of parish clerk,

rested with the vicar and "sixteen men." The first mention of this occurs when Thomas Nicholson, who had been clerk and schoolmaster, had become infirm, and it was agreed that he should be paid £iii a year for acting as clerk during his life, that the money be paid regularly in money and not in meal as formerly, and that in addition each scholar pay 6d. per quarter.

In 1627 Richard Harding was appointed to the joint office, being bound as security for the payment to him. In 1638 we find :—

That whereas Rich^h^ Harding parish clarke hath herto wrongfully received & deteyned these wages wch have bene & are due to the Clarke & School^m^ notwithstanding divers orders by us form'ly made to the contrary And for that the School^m^ now being hath bene thereby pjudiced & the parish wronged and the School liklye to be decayed It is this day ordered & agreed upon that Robt Wittye nowe School^m^ shall (in consideracon of his paines already taken in instructing of ye youth w^th^in the said Parish) receive collect & take upp the same wages being due at Easter last; he payinge to the said Rich^h^ Hardinge the sume of iii£ lawfull English money (if he have not already received soe much) & soe continue from yeare to yeare.

The order and government of the manor three centuries ago rested in the steward or his deputy, who presided at the Courts Leet or Courts Baron, and in these Courts, which in the seventeenth century seem to have been held monthly, the whole government of the manor was carried on, not only in recording the tenure of land and the succession thereto, but also the civil administration of the same, and the determining of actions of a personal nature, as debt or trespass. When the debts or damages claimed were under 40s. in value, an elaborate code of byelaws was enacted by the head or homage juries, generally assisted by the "sixteen men." Probably it was thought necessary that the ancient byelaws should be re-enacted and recited for the benefit and enlightenment of the tenants. Such a Court is hereafter described :—

HOLME CULTRAM.

The presentment of the Head Juries be Eastern and Western Wav^r^ of the Ancyent paynes and orders for the Preservation of the Kings Mati^es^ Inheritance and the good Gove'ment and well ordering of the Customary lands and Tenem^ts^ there. And the Tennants and occupiers of the same presented at a Court Leet houlden on the xxvj^th^ day of September Anno Do^m^ 1640. as hereafter followeth.

PAYNES AND ORDERS FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE WOODS OF WEDHOLME.

Imp. We order and p'sent that for ev'y Oak tree therein which shall be felled for any other use than for the use of the Seadyke ev'y delinquent shall be amercyed to the use of the Seadyke iij^l^ vi^s^ viii^d^

Item We order & p'sent that ev'y one that carrieth away any Oake tree or Trees forth of the saith Wood for any other use than for the use of the s^d^ Seadyke shall be amercyed to the use of the said Seadyke for ev'y Tree soe carried away iii^l^ vi^s^ viij^d^

Item We order than ev'y one which shall take away any boughes or toppes of any oake tree there for any other use than for the use of the said Seadyke shall be amercyed to the use aforesaid xxvi^s^ viii^d^

Item We order than ev'y Brack Tree that is felled within the saide Wood for any other use than for the Seadyke evy delinquent therein shall be amercyed to the use aforesaid xxvi^s^ viii^d^

Item We order that if any shall cut fell or carrye away any under-wood or hollyne within the said Wood for any other use than for the Seadyke he shall be amercyed to the use aforesaid xvvi^s^ viii^d^

Item We order that if any within the Lor^pp^ of Holme Cultram shall cutt or lopp any Birks within the said Wood of Wedholme either to stick in their houses, or to make beasomes, or other private uses shall be amercyed to the use aforesaid vi^s^ viii^d^

Item We order that if any shall buy of Cuthbert Langcake, John Waite or of any other person any wood that is or shall be felled out of the said Woods called Wedholme Woods shall be amercyed for the use aforesaid xx^s^

Item We order that if any shall receive any wood from any man which brought it forth of Wedholme Wood and doth conceale the same and not presented within twenty dayes he shall be amercyed to the use aforesaid xl^s^

Item We order that if the Sixteen men, or major part of them, being chosen for the good of the said Lor^pp^ do not appoynt an able and sufficient Tennant of the said Lor^pp^ within half a year after the Presentment of this Record into the Court to call by course of Law of ev'y man that refuseth to pay the aforesaid Amement sett against them for the use of the Seadyke or that maketh any Rescouces* against the Bailiffe or his Deputy, or any other by them for that purpose appoynted for distreigning of the said Ame'cm^t^ then the said Sixteen men shall be ame'cy^d^ ev'y man to the Kings Maties use to be levied without mittigation xx^s^

Item We order that the Bailiffe or his Deputye or any other soe appoynted shall have his living money for the Amercyments that he or they shall distreigne for the use of the said Seadyke, and if the Bailiffe or his Deputye or the p^sn^ soe appoynted doe not his duty therein within xl dayes after he hath received an Estraite from the Clerke of the Court, and that he does not either returne paym^t^, A sufficient distresse, a Recouse or a nihil habet upon oath to the man whom the Sixteen men doe soe appoynt for receiving of the same shall be amercyed of ev'y default

To the Kings Maties use iij^l^

Item We order that the Tennant appoynted by the Sixteen Men or major part of them to call for the money due for the use of the Seadyke shall have his chardges allowed forth of the Amercyments due for the Seadyke upon his accounts maide to the Sixteen Men ev'y years end and if the man refuse to doe the same or neglect to call the Bailiffe to doe his dutye, and doth not call by course of law against the offenders herein, and doth not make his Accounts duly to the Sixteen men he shall be amercyed for ev'y default

To the Kings Maties use iij^l^ . o . o

ORDERS AND PAYNES CONCERNING THE SEADYKE.

I^tem^ We order and put in payne that the Tennants of Skinburnees shall at all tymes save the wood left at the Seadyke from being carried away by the Sea soe farr as they can, and if any trees be carried a way by the force of the Sea, and left about the Marshes or Sea Bankes within a mile of Skinberneese, then the Tennants of Skinberneese knowing thereof shall bring the same to the Seadyke, or to some other place where it may be saif

* This means forcible resistance to the bailiff's distraint of goods, "rescue."

from the Sea or els the whole Towneshipp for evy default shall be amercyed to the Kings Maties use iij^{l} . o . o

Item We order that all Taxes due for the Seadyke shall be sett downe by the XVI men (or major part of them) with the assent of the Head Juryes and some of the best of the P'sh to joyne with them and for ev'y default of the XVI men and the Jurye that shall neglect to set downe the taske every man shall be amercyed to the Kings Maties use vi^{s} viii^{d}

Item We further Order that if anye within the said Towne shall refuse to help his neighbours having requested him or comand given him by them to save the said Wood ev'y p'son that soe doth for his refusall shall be Amercyed to the use of the said Seadyke xx^{s}

Item We order that the XVI men with the assent of the Head Jury and some of the best of ye Parish shall appoint collectors in every Graveshippe to collect ye Taske set down for ye maintenance of ye Seadyke, and to pay ye same over to whom ye XVI men or major part of them shall appoint to receive ye same and ev'y collector that doth not his duty shall for ev'y default be amercyed to ye use of ye Seadyke ij^{l} . o . o

Item We order that every Graveshippe that doth not lead the Wood to ye Seadyke being comanded & knowing how much they are to carry for ev'y default so made he or they shall be amercyed to ye use of ye Seadyke xx^{s}

Item We order that every Tenant wthin ye said Lor^{pp} which sendeth not an able man to worke at ye Seadyke upon Proclamation shall for ev'y default be amercyed to ye use of ye Seadyke xx^{s}

Item We order that every one wch taketh away any wood from the Seadyke shall for ev'y default be amercyed towards the maintenance of it xx^{s}

Item We order that every one wch cometh to ye Seadyke with cart, horse, or brake to fetch any wood from the Seadyke, or taketh any wood away wth them to there owne use or to any other use whatsoever for ye same he shall be amercyed for ev'y default to ye use or maintenance of ye Seadyke £vi

Item We order that every one that sendeth a man to ye Seadyke to work and ye man y^{t} is sent will not diligently work at the sight of ye Overseer but jest at or scoffe at ye overseer, or Idle or loyter there, everyone y^{t} so doth shall be amercyed as to the use of ye Seadyke ye man servant if he be able shall pay it himself, if not ye master shall pay it forth of the man's wages, or els the Master to pay it himself to ye use of ye Seadyke £v

Item We order that ye 16 men or major p^{t} of them shall appoynt a Tenant in Skinbernees or els where within ye Lor^{pp} to be overseer

of ye worke at Seadyke and there put them to worke and when the worke is wrought he shall take upp the Tools workloomes or Utensils belonging to ye said Seadyke and he shall take up all little pieces Boards or any pieces of wood and carry y^m^ home & keep y^m^ till they work at ye Seadyke again and y^n^ to deliver them to ye workmen and so from time to time to keep and deliver them forth and it shall be allowed for his work at ye Seadyke and for ev'y default herein he shall be amerceyed to ye use of ye Seadyke xx^s^

Item We order that ye Tenant from whom ye 16 men or major of them do appoynt to Receive ye Taxe from ye collectors for the use of ye Seadyke, do not make his accounts truly, and put ye said money to ye use of ye Seadyke for ev'y default herin he shall be amerceyed to ye use of ye Seadyke £v

ORDERS FOR THE SIXTEEN MEN.

Item We order that ye 16 men or major p^t^ of them shall set downe Taxes upon ye Coppyholders for ye preservation of the Kings Maties Inheritance & ye Ancient Custom of Holme Cultram and if ye whole or any of ye 16 men refuse to do ye same then ev'y one that refuseth shall be amerceyed &^c^ xx^s^

Item We order that ye 16 men or ye major p^t^ of them shall appoint collectors in every Quarter or in every Graveshippe to collect and gather upp ye s^d^ Taske and there to make account thereof to ye said 16 men, or to any other whom ye 16 men shall appoint & if ye collectors or anye of them shall refuse so to do he shall be amerceyed &^c^ £iii

Item We order that if any Coppyholder within ye Lor^pp^ of Holm shall refuse to pay his Taske for ye P'servation of his Maties inheritance and ye anetient custom of ye said Lor^pp^ being assessed by ye Sixteen Men, or major p^t^ of them To be collected by these whom the saide Sixteen men shall appoynt as aforesaid for ev'y tyme the said coppieholder shall refuse to paye his Taske to the collectors appoynted he shall be amerceyed &c xx^s^

Item We order that if any within the Lor^pp^ of Holme shall make any rescouces upon the collectors appoynted for collecting up the said sev'all Taskes for ev'y default herein he shall be amerceyed &^c^ iii£

Item We doe further order, and P'sent that upon his Refusal or rescouse maide after he be amerceyed and then to refuse to paye his Taske to the saide 16 men or whom they shall appoynt for collection, then the 16 men, or whom they shall appoynt shall

give the offenders herein into the Court of Exchequr or other Courte as he or they by there Councill in the Law shall be advized and the offenders to bear all chardges and damages both for the Kings Maties Inheritance and for the dangers & dammages of the said custom wch the Tennants shall receive therby.

Item We order that if ye 16 or the Tennant or occupier wch they shall appoynt shall neglect to prosecute the offenders herein he shall be amercyed for ev'y default to the Kings Maties use xxs
But if the fault be in the 16 men they shall be amercyed ev'y man for ev'y default to his Maties use xls

Then follow a number of paynes dealing with various matters—40 in number—finally winding up this schedule of byelaws with the following :—

Item We order that both the Head Jures shall goe forth at St. Ellin Court and shall p'sent new Frith men ev'y yeare at the Head Court about St. Ellin Day upon payne for ev'y one of their Defaults to the Kings Maties use vis viiid

Item We doe order that all ancyent paynes or amercyment that do not come to our knowledge and are of Record shall stand good soe that they be not hurtfull for the King Maties Inheritance nor against the ancyent custom of the Lorpp of Holme Cultram.

Item We order that all paynes, amercyments, and orders heretofore maide or herafter to be maide by any Jurye or otherwise wch is hurtfull to the Kings Maties Inheritance and the ancient custom of the Lorpp of Holm Cultram aforesaid, or a decay to any coppiehould Tenements shall be utterly voyd and of non effect.

Item We order that if any within the Abbey or about the Abbey shall at any tyme hereafter have any swine being unringed goeing within the Church yard or Sanctuary he or they for ev'y such swine be amercyed to the Kings Maties use &c xxs
And if any such swine shall be founde wrooting about any graves then the said swine shall be killed, and the owners thereof amercyed to the Kings Matyes use xxs

The jurors sign their names or marks at the end of these paines. For Court purposes the manor is divided into two parts, the river Waver being the dividing line. The jury of "be estern wavr" are, in this case, thirteen in number, with John Chambers, of Raby Cote, as foreman ;

the jury "be western wav[r]" numbers fifteen, with John Jackson, of Swinsty, as foreman, the paper being endorsed "pe'used and allowed Peter Senhouse steward holme p'me Geo Dykes clerk Cur ibim."

Being a Crown manor, and under such staunch Royalists as the Senhouses and Dykes family, the Holme would incline to the King's party. It would appear, however, that the Parliamentary party were strong enough to seize the manor, for in June, 1647, William Brisco is found steward of Holme. It would appear that some of the Brisco family were copyholders in the district as early as 1604, Thomas Brisco appearing as holding Cowfold in the grieveship of Southerfield, and in 1640 "William Brisco gentleman" held the same land—doubtless the same man who was steward in 1647. The entries during the Civil War in the minute book are few and unimportant, and have no bearing on the great events which were then taking place in the kingdom. The parish contributed to the assessment made to maintain the Scottish army in England in 1644 and 1645, and in 1649. The Parliament sent down a Commission* to enquire as to the rents and possessions of "Charles Stuart, at one time King of England." The Parliamentary Commissioners were bent on selling the manor, and even Wedholme Wood (on which £300 was put) and to prevent any use being made of Wolsty Castle as a fortress. Colonel Ffitch, the Governor of Carlisle, pulled down the already crumbling walls, and carried away anything of value to Carlisle.

Two years later the contract for the sale of the manor was entered into, the purchasers being Richard Salton-stall, Richard Sydenham, Robert Fenwick, Edward Cresset; the trustees for the Parliament being George Smithson, Thomas Lilbourne, William Bradford, George Walkinson, and Ffrances Wilkinson. The price was calculated at twenty-two years on a somewhat higher

* Presided over by Robert Stafford.

rental than that paid by the tenants, the sum total being £10,320 18s. 4½d., payable in two "moyeties," and the date 26th November, 1651. There is no record as to whether the contract was carried out, but in all probability the scheme fell through.

The church, which seemed during the whole of the seventeenth century to be in a state of chronic decay, claimed attention at the November Court, 1650, when it was agreed "that a Tax be furthw^th assessed towards the reparacon of ye church being now in great decay both in ye Roofe, Windawes and otherwise wch Tax or charge to ye parish will (as he conceive) amount to ye Sume of one hundred pounds.—William Heade* Vicar."

In 1651 trouble again occurred about the schoolmaster. The master in possession, Robert Witty, complained to the Governor of Carlisle, and warrant was issued for John Chambers and William Brisco to appear on March 25th at Carlisle. Being unable to go they sent a letter, from which it appears:—

* Robt Witty was schoolmaster "duranti placita." Yet the said Robt Witty did neglect the paym^t thereof, although he receiv^d it & made us forfeit o^r Bond. And had almost starved the s^d Richard Harding if good neighb^ors had not helped him. Neither is it nor was it an intent to take any p^t of the schoolmasters wages from him Th^o he did most unjustly and unworthyly deserve it in respect that by his idleness and carelessness he neglects the Schoole. And soe forces several q^trs in the p'sh to hire other maisters to teach there children by his neglect. And besides whereas by this order of the whole p^sh he is but to have 6^d per Q^tr for every p'shoners child yet he takes twelve pence of ev'y scholar in the P^sh contrary to the said order for these few he teaches to the great dammage of the p'shoners.

The letter is addressed:—

To the Honble Coll Th^o Ffitch Governo^r of the Castle & Citty of Carlile, And to the wors^pfull Mr Th^os Craiste, Maior of the same & to Captaine Cuthbert Studholme & to the rest of the Comiss^rs for the Ministry these p'sent.

* This man seems to have held the living during the time of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and lived to see the King enjoy his own again, his name appearing as late as 1671.

The repairs to the church seem chiefly to have been in the roof, and an agreement was entered into with James Hodgson :—

To cast sufficiently all the webbes of Leed wch are upo' the Roofe or upon either side of the said church and upo' the Porch as shall be needfull to be Castin at the sight and discretion of Mr John Chambers Mr Brisco John Jackson & Willm Barnes but especially at ye Discretion of the said Mr Chamber . . . And such webbes as aforesaid as thick as the Best Webbes of Leed so that if Wynd shall blow the same or any of them upp at any tyme the said James to mend ye same within xx dayes upon notice given att his proper cost ye s^d^ James shall putt webbes of Leed on ev'y part of the wall where there is want for to keep out ye water or rayne.

He was to be paid "Three score and Tenne Pounds of Current English money."

Under date of April 16th, ano. 1651 :—

Whereas a Warr^t^ was directed from ye High Constable for ye speedie p'viding of 2 able dragoune horses wth Bridles and Sadles readie to rendyvous at Carlile or els where as ye Gouvernor of Carlile shall thinke fitt.

The "sixteen" agree :—

That for the saide purpose ye sume of xvi£ be assessed & levied w^thin^ ye Lorpp that vii£ a piece for ye horses xx^s^ for Bridles and Sadles for each of them. And whereas Robt Weise now Constable hath a horse being worth ye said sume of viii£ with Sadle & Bridle. And Ric^h^ Winder hath another worth ye rate aforesaid we desire that they may be in readiness as required and if the saide horses passe muster we order the Sume of xvi£ be p^d^ to ye owners.

The horses were returned to the parish the following winter, for on December 23rd Anthonie Barwis had lent money to the parish :—

And we doe further order that ye said Anthony shall towardes ye use aforesaid have and enjoy two horses being of late imployed in ye Dragoune Service and now to be sold for the use of ye Lorpp.

July 6th, 1652 :—

Whereas it is desired by ye xvi men & others of the Lorpp that a Copie of the Deed of Purchase (of the manor) be p'cured and Thos Sturdy and John Jackson having this day undertaken that they will p'cure ye same we ye said xvi^men^ doe consent That ye sume of vi^l^ x^s^ be payed ov' to them . . . . and xx^s^ to Robt Witty for his paynes.

On May 18th, 1653, it was reported that being summoned by the Parliament for arrears of rent, horse service, and boon days here made a charge against them, and the following bill was presented:—

A note or Bill of Charges given in to ye Parish by Mr Hen. Peirson about p'curing ye Com'ission for examination of witnesses touching ye arreare of Rents, &c.

Kepers of ye liberty &c ag^t^ Ten^t^ of Holme Cultra	for An Assistant drawing it	0	2	6
	To Mr Rich Highmore for moving the Barons ...	1	0	0
For drawing ye order & entering wth Mr Sage ...		0	13	8
for a Copie		0	4	8
for Comission		0	18	8
for ye Schedull		0	6	0
for sealeing		0	2	2
for getting Comission sealed & expedition to Mr Vaughan		0	5	0
for a writ of attendance		0	6	8
for signeing ye order by Baron Thorpe		0	8	8
for soliciting		2	0	0
	Sum	6	7	4
for sitteing ye Comission to 2 Comissioners each of y^m^ xx^s^		2	0	0
for ye clarkes labour		0	10	0
Remaynes un^pd^ £3 . 8 . 4				

It is also explained that there was left in Mr. Chamber's hand £1 2s., "wch was clept money in some part, and other some was not money but brasse."

In 1657 there is copied into the minutes an acquittance of the sum of £32 13s. 4d., money borrowed from Mr. John Osmotherley by the parish, and by them paid to his

executors—John Salkeld, of Threpland, Esq., and Roger Gregge, Eldr., Gent.*

Wedholme Wood was now in a decaying state, for on 18th May, ano. 1663 :—

We the Sixteen men . . . being very sensible of the decay . . . and taking into consideracon what inconvenience & dammage may fall on posteritie by reason of want of wood for ye reparacon aforesaid . . . thinke fitt and order That A part of ye saide woode (That is to say) The Rigge next to the North shall be felled & cutt downe & that furthwith the same be hedged and stronglie fenced round about to th' extent the same may wth all care & diligence be sprung againe And that henceforth from tyme to tyme the Woodwards doe take care that ye fence soe to be made be stronglie kept in repaire that new wood may come on & grow.

In 1663 the first entry of poor relief occurs. A poor boy, named Ralph Roberts :—

Having been mainteyned amongst them, ordered that his uncle Robt Parker shall give the sume of ffive pounds for to put him to an app'entice by ye churchwardens & overseers of ye Parish.

In January, 1663, the "sixteen" agree :—

That whereas ye sume of xii^d^ onely had bene payed in fformer tymes for every ffox killed; noe more be payed by ye Churchwardens to the p'sons unreasonablie clayming and sueing.

On June 28th, 1665 :—

Whereas it was Ordered formerlie that ye Bells should be removed and hung in ye Bell Greese againe as by ye same daited ye 28th March last May appeare now we the Sixteen men whose names are subscribed having taken ye same into further consideration and p'ceiving the Bell Greaze to be weake and not of that strength wch is requisite doe thinke fitt and order that the saide Bells shall be hung on the North Side of the Church at ye West end of ye Low Leades there. William Head vicar.

In 1667 occurs the first entry of money lent out by the parish. It would seem that money was becoming more

* See these *Transactions*, iii., p. xvii.

plentiful, and although money payments took largely the place of boon labour, from this time forward the parish began to accumulate parish stock.

	£	s	d
Decr. 14, 1667. Ffrancis Grainger his receipts by his former accounts from ye old xvio came to	4	14	6
Whereof he disbursed from	4	6	11
More disbursed this day	0	14	8
Soe yt upon this account more disbursed then he received	0	7	1
His receipts from ye wood came to	50	2	0
his disbursmts as appears by notes of p'ticulars ...	30	12	4
behind of severall persons for wch securitie is to be given	18	1	3
Sume	48	13	7
Soe remaynes of this undisbursed	1	8	5
which sd Sume of £1 . 8 . 5 was this day payed in by him to Robt Sibson & the rest of the xvio.			
of Mr Willm Chamber of Raby Coat ... ... due ye ffirst of June	5	6	0

confessed by me (Signed) William Chamber.

Ffrances Benson by Bond £2 . 2 . 4 John Taylor of Skinburnees p Bond £1 . 1 . 2 John Jackson £1 . 1 . 3 Richh Barnes 1£ Wm Barnes 1£ Robt Barwis 1£ Ffrancis Pattinson 1£ Robt Hewson 1£ Heugh Askew 1£ Willia Smith 1£ Heugh Whinfeild 1£ Tho Jefferson 1£.

In the July of 1668 it was ordered that twenty trees be felled, and carried to the seadyke. On December 27th of this same year the following sums were paid for leading the same :—

	s	d
By Robt Sibson to Robt Barne for 2 ffother	7	0
To John Langcake for 3 ffother	10	6
to Heugh Askew sent by Rob Steavenson for 2 fother ...	7	0
to Edw Austin sent by Rob Steavenson for 1 fother ...	3	6
to Geo Langcake sent by Jo Langcake for 1 fother ...	3	6
to Robt Hewson for 2 ffother	7	6

In February, 1669, James Hodgson, the plumber, having taken pains in mending the leads on the church without any recompense, it was agreed to give him 20s. out of the "Church Sesse."

On September 17th, 1670, we find that :—

Whereas Willm Ritson of Mawbrey being an ancient man decrepitt and infirme and not able to travel abroad to seeke his liveinge for his releife in this his great povertie and need We the xvi^o men . . . . order that there shall be payed to him for & towards his Releife out of the Parish the sum of xii^d per weeke for the space of one quarter next ensueing.

April 12th, 1671 :—

Whereas the calsey betwixt Barhouse & ye Church yard Style is in great decay We . . . have Agreed with Ffrancis Stamper for to repaire the decayes therein . . . he is to pave xii Roode all Anew where it is in greatest decay and to make the same seaven quarters broad and to repaire all the rest where needfull for the which worke we ye saide xvi^o have promised to give him for his worke the sume of Eighteine shillings.

May ye xxiij^th 1671. Whereas It is ordered by his Maties Com'issioners for settleing A Subsidie That foure men out of Everie Constable wicke are to goe to Cockermouth upon Friday next for that purpose . . . every man soe appointed . . . shall have and for his charges for ye day xii^d . . . and if they are caused to stay all night xviii^d.

The church having been repaired on two occasions since James Hodgson mended the leads in 1651, the "sixteen" men find :—

October ye xi^th 1671 Whereas ye Chancell there is in great decay and hath bene for some yeares by past being to be repaired at the cost of Sr Wm Dalston . . . tending much to the p'judice of the Parishioñs by danger of ye Ruinating of the body of ye Church. We . . . order That the sume of £xiij vi^s viii^d be furthwith assessed . . . towardes the use aforesaid That is to say for furnishing 2 men to goe about causeing ye said Sir Wm Dalston to repaire the said Chancell.

It would seem that relief was only given in money where the person requiring relief could not walk, for on :—

April 17th 1672 Ordered . . . That Wm Biglands being A poore indigent ffeeble old man and chargeable upon ye Parish for his Reliefe shall goe from house to house and at every horse place 2 dayes at every Demy foote place & Lessors one Day according to a former neighbourlie Rule there to accept of such reliefe as shall be afforded him.

The parishioners did not, however, stick to the "neighbourlie rule," for in the following spring it was ordered :—

That upon every neglect of harbouring ye poore as abovesaid . . . every p'son shall pay vi^d^ per diem And upon their refusall That ye overseers doe levy ye same rate upon these goodes & chattells . . . whereby ye said penalties may be truly imployed for some cloathes or other subsistance for ye poore charged upon that Mannor.

Edward Lamplugh Senecall.

Robert Witty, the schoolmaster, must by this time have been an old man, for on June 18th, 1674 :—

The xvi^o^ men doe approve off Cuthb^t^ Raper to teach school at Abbey till Easter next and that there shall be payed to him from Robt Witty . . . and that ye s^d^ Cuthb^t^ in ye interim doe officiate and dulie execute both the said places aforesaid.

Wood was a scarce article in the Holme, and it would seem from the following extract that occasionally purchasers of wood at Wedholme took away more than they purchased :—

July ye 8th 1674. We . . . order that ye 4 Woodwards doe sell to ye best advantage & for ye use afores^d^ all the blowne Boughes such as are fallen downe and also those y^t^ hanging on ye Trees and that none that buyes the same shall fell or cutt any other boughes or wood upon payne of £3 6^s^ 8^d^, and that the boughes hanging shalbe cutt of at the place where they broke or crack.

It would seem that ignorant of the "payne," which held that no person outside the manor should purchase wood there, Sir John Ballantine of Crookdake sent his servant, who purchased a tree there. The following letter is entered on the minutes :—

Sir. I shall be sorry That y^o^ should suffer either Losse or p'judice by me if my servants whom I sent to the wood had not informed me that you had bought one Tree for my use. I should not have given you this Trouble but seeing the Tree is bought I entreat you to let

me have it And I doe by these p'sents bynd & oblige myselfe to keep & save you harmless from y^or vi^o men & all other for the price of it and if you question my word and p'mise I have here written to James Jackson to passe his word to keep y^o harmlesse but I hope my owne worde will serve for a greater matter Y^or kindness in this p'ticular shall oblige me hereafter to continue Sr

Crookdake ye 4th of September (75) — Y^r faithfull friend to serve you J. Ballentine

My service to y^or sonne I entreate you to send upp Cuthb^t Pennington to me upon Munday or Tuesday wth his dogg & netts & with his larking netts.

ffor Mr Willm Chambers at Raby Coate These.

The itinerant method of poor relief seems still to have obtained, for on September 28th, 1678 :—

Ordered . . . that the following shall goe about & seek almes of every able and well disposed person within o^r P'ish with convenient lodgeing as need requires they and every of them behaveing & demeaning themselves fairely & honestly not to go abegging without our Parish nor in the hie wayes as the Law therein requires.

In 1676 the money owing the parish amounted to £56 7s. 1d., and the interest or "use money" was at the rate of 1s. 2d. in the £1 per annum. The greater part of this was held with security, but the smaller sums, chiefly for wood bought at the sales at Wedholme, was without such security, and these small debts caused endless trouble from time to time, so that various persons were appointed to distrain and recover these sums with indifferent success. Occasionally, also, the paupers were troublesome, for on :—

Ffebruary ye 26th 1679. Ordered . . . that we doe appoint John Waite to goe before ye Justices of peace at bryde Kirke at the signe of the Cocke to answer some objections as maybe objected against the overseers by John Hall.

What the objections raised were there is no record, but about this time the weekly allowance was reduced from 8d. and 9d. per week to 6d.

November ye 16th 1681. Ordered that John Stub . . . who is fallen into poverty and want . . . shall be maintained in this manner that is to say he shall have his meat & drinke & lodgeing out of the said p'sh two dayes meat att every horse place and every foot place and demy one day and goe from place to place until he be through ye s^d^ p'sh he shall begin at Cowper upon Monday next & soe to continue from yeare to yeare so long as he liveth.

April ye 28. 1663. Ordered . . . that ye Penthouse Calsey betwixt Barhouse and ye Churchyard and ye lonning Leading from ye Churchyard to ye Spellgate be repaired . . . and y^t^ two of ye xvi^o^ men out of ev'y qtr one on a day ov'see ye work . . . . and y^t^ four purveys be collected . . . betwixt ye fifteenth day of May next aft.

These roads are now superseded by others, but they lay on the north side of the church. Spellgate Lane is now an occupation road, occupied by the tenants of the Wheat Sheaf Inn. It is crossed by the railway a few yards east of the present railway station.

In 1684 a rumour seemed to have reached the parish that the King contemplated selling the manor, so on :—

October ye first Anno Dom 1684 Ordered . . . that whereas there is a Pe'tion signed by ye Major p^t^ of ye Tenants within ye Lor^pp^ . . . to be delivered to ye Kings Matie therefore we doe order John Penrise of Calseyhead John Waite of Hielawes and Edw Auston of Brownrigge . . . to goe to London to deliv' ye said Pe'tion and they shall have their charges for themselves their horses and for ye delivering of ye Pe'tion . . . payed by us ye xvi^o^ men.

The journey seems to have had a successful issue, for on December 3rd following this letter was sent from Sir Richard Musgrave, knight and baronet :—

London. Novembr 3. 84

Sr.

I received yo^rs^ by ye bearers & my Ld Cheife Justice* was so kind as to p'sent it to his Matie who was gratiously pleased to give this answer y^t^ he would not part wth his ancient Tennants & nothing

* Judge Jefferies.

of y^t^ kind should be done. The inclosed wth ye originall brought by these p'sons they can tell y^ou^ who brought it to them be pleased to send for ye p'son y^ou^ sent it & by y^r^ kindness doubt not but you will find out ye author of it wch I shall acknowledge ffor a singular ffavour & thereby expose to ye world their most ungentlemanlike practices . . . my most humble service to my Lady & be confident none is more truly yor^d^ then

Sr y^r^ most humble sev^t^ & kinsman

Ch^ris^ Musgrave.*

In January, 1685, the "sixteen" pass a self-denying ordinance :—

Ordered . . . by us . . . that every one of us makeing default in not giveing appearance that is not comeing in due time according to notice given either publickly or in the Church or upon the Lang Stane or privately among ourselves shall forfeit and pay upon every such default the sum of twelve pence to the use of the poor of ye Parish unless they can show a reasonable cause to ye contrairy wch may give satisfaction to the rest of their fellows.

The "lang stane" is often mentioned in parish documents; sometimes money had to be payed thereon. It was probably some tombstone. The Chambers family had long narrow tombstones, and it may have been Abbot Chamber's tomb, for it is sometimes called the "Blew Marble Stane," and the abbot's tomb has blue slate for the top portion, into which a brass figure of the abbot at one time was inserted.

The receipts of the overseers of the poor for the year 1688 seems to have been £28 10s. 6d., or 5 "purveys;" whilst the expenditure was £26 10s. 2d., the balance being paid over to the foreman of the "sixteen men." During the same year the churchwardens obtained from "church sess" £44 15s., and from burials 10s. 1d; while their expenditure amounted to £43 18s. 1d., the balance being paid in as before mentioned. Crummock Bridge cost in repairs the same year £24 13s. 6d., paid for tax levied £23 6s. 8d., and from old wood sold £1 6s. 11d. During

* M.P. for Carlisle, and one of the King's Ministers.

the year in review £7 2s. 7d. was received on behalf of the seadyke, the expenditure being £2 8s. 1d. Where no timber required cutting in Wedholme, the tenants had boon days at the seadyke, and a considerable time was thus occupied—viz., 1,264 days' work in 1688.

The duties of a minister and churchwardens in those days seem to have been many and various, and see the following entry :—

We the minister and the churchwardens of the Parish of Holm Cultra and others whose names are here undrwritten do hereby certify yt John Smith late of Barhouse in ye sd Parish now close prisoner (for debt) in ye County Gaol at Carlisle is a very poor man and has a wife and five small children and little or nothing to relief him or himselfe wth he being a great object of charity and cannot subsist in confinement wthout ye county allowance to poor prisoners or other relief from well disposed p'sons as witness our hands the twenty first day of Decembr Ano Dom 1692.

In 1692 Thomas Fothergill was appointed schoolmaster and clerk, the assessment being 4d. for every 1s. 6d. Crown rent paid, and 2d. every cottinger or under tenant, the charge per head for children being in addition 1s. per quarter. In April of the same year the "sixteen" do :—

Order yt ye Middle Rigg of Wedholme shall forth wth be cut down finding ye same to be in a decaying condition and almost rotting and ye money thereof to be put into ye hands of four Trustees . . . and yt all due care is and shall be taken by us ye said Sixteen men and ye sd Trustees as setting of accrons springing of ye Booles or what other methods may be urged for ye preserving of ye said wood for ye uses aforesaid as we are in duty bound.

One might suppose that with so much unenclosed pasture and so much undrained land there should have been no lack of water for stock, yet the tenants looked with jealous eyes on their right to water at the Stank, originally a fish pond belonging the abbey, now of smaller dimensions, yet on August 9th, 1694, the "sixteen" find :—

Y^t whereas Mr Wm Vriell hath enclosed and hedged a great part of ye Stank to which several Townshipps (within ye Lordship claime watering & feeding there) therefor we order & think fit that ye sum of two purveys be forth with collected & levyed for & towardes the defending of the right of Watering & feeding there.

This question of enclosing the Stank was frequently a bone of contention. On two occasions previously a "task" was assessed for this purpose.

No allowance was made to soldier's wives in those days, for on :—

July ye 14 1695 Memorandum y^t Robert Sealby (Churchwarden for Low Holme Quarter) Gave sixpence to three poor distressed women vizt Mary Jones, Elinor Morphet & Mary Redhead whose husbands were in ye Kings Service wich afores^d sixpence was to be placed according to order in his account of ye Parish

Test. Peter Farish Cler ibd^m

In 1695 another schoolmaster was appointed, the formula being practically the same as that used in 1607, with this addition :—

The said James Farish shall not let or hinder one person in each Quarter (Abbey Quarter only excepted) to teach or instruct children or youths sent to him or them to be taught so that he or they be found able & sufficient so to do & that the said person or persons so instructing or teaching shall not proceed or go on to teach further than their English tongue and not to teach them in the rudiments of their Latine tongue without the Lycense or Leave of the Bishop or of the aforesaid James Farish.

November ye 5th 1697. Ordered that for & towards the repairing of the church that wood that shall be needfull for the same shall be cut down or felled in Wedholme . . . and the said money which shall come by selling of the said wood shall be put for the use of repairing of ye Scadyke and if any Tenant shall object against this our order they are required thereby to appear at the Church and show openly their objections to the contrary ; also we think fit that the stones in the Bell Greese be taken down & converted towards repairing of the Church.

The sale of the middle rigg at Wedholme had realised £168. It was put to the following use :—

Memorand. The Steward did ord Anthony Hayton foreman of the Head Jury p' Western Waver and the rest of his fellows and Robt Hewson the foreman of the Jury p' Eastern Waver . . . to meet at the Seadyke upon Thursday the 27th March 1700 to view the delapidations and to ord a speedy repair . . . we did order yt the sd Seadyke should forthwith be put into good & sufficient repaire by the Copyhold Tenants who have formerly been accustomed to work at the same who are requested by order of p'clamation to come or send each Tenant a sufficient worker to appear at the Seadyke at eight of the clock in the morning and goe to work at the discretion of the overseer there p'sent and for their wages everyone soe working to receive everyone 1s per day Low holme Quarter to begin on Wednesday the ninth of Aprill Abbey Quarter on Thursday St Cuthbert Quartr on Friday and East Waver Quartr on Saturday & soe to continue as need shall require.

A similar order was made in 1712, the "quarters" attending in the same order, and in 1715 a similar decay was met by a sale of wood from Wedholme.

On March 6th, 1714-1715, a parish clerk was again wanted, and :—

Robert Paipe of the Abbey having A son a very good scoller did for the good of the Psh and alsoe his own Improvmt agreed with the p'shoners that his son should officiate as Clark and Scoolmaister in the psh for one year And Mr James Corry then Curate in the P'sh being a god free* and willing to gratifie his p'ishoners was willing to let him be for clark and Scoolmaister though contrary to the Canon by reason of youth but he acting soe prudently in the place of a Clark the inhabitants are therwith very well satisfied and though he be but of Little Stature yet by the course of nature Hopes he will improve.

In 1717 occurs the entry :—

	s	d
John Penrise & Thomas Barwise 1 day riding and expences when went to Lawer Christian being January ye 7th 1716	0 . 2	. 8
to Lawer Christian for His opinion concerning persons who was owing for wood & refused to pay ...	0 . 10	. 0

* Think it is meant for God-fearing man.

Ewan Christian seems to have been consulted on several occasions. He might be either brother or son of John Christian, born in 1688, who married Bridget, daughter of Humphrey Senhouse, of Netherhall, whose daughter married Edward Law, Bishop of Carlisle, and was mother of Edward, Baron Ellenborough. *(Whellan.)*

The sea gave much trouble during the greater part of the eighteenth century. Two years only had elapsed since the last considerable reparations were undertaken when we find :—

June 5th, 1717.
Whereas information was made to ye Sixteen Men by the Tenants of Skinbernees that the Great Gutters in the Seadyke were through the violence of the Sea in decay to their great prejudice and ensuing loss to them and severall others proclamation was made that ye Sixteen men view the same which on the first day of June last past accordingly did assemble ourselves and found the west part of the wood work on the backside of the Seadike and the door of ye water sluice with several other parts as also the earthwork about the fraime in great ruine.

Whereupon notice was given on the long stone that a meeting should be held at Wedholme of the wood wardens and persons interested, and of any "carpenters who had a mind to be employed in the work" at six o'clock in the morning of June 5th.

According to the above written proclamation the woodwards and Sixteen men did meet at ye wood and severall Carpenters and none would undertake ye working of ye wood under 30 pounds so that it was ordered that men should be imployed by day the wood being cutt down which was thought necessary.

Wood was sold to the value of £13 19s. 6d., and the seadyke made an efficient earthwork again. In the same year another meeting took place by proclamation at the New bridge, again at six o'clock in the morning.

Several workmen mett the Sixteen Men and the Surveyors att the Bridge on June the 26th as carpenters masons and others and the work was fest by great the wood work with Thos Bigland and others

his fellows for 13£ the stone work with Jos Johnstone for £6 and the covering of the Bridge with Thos Bell for £1 . 10 . 0.

On August 16th the work was finished, it having cost, in addition to the contract :—

	£	s.	d.
To Joshua Anderson for leading wood from Wedholme to the Bridge	04	00	00
To Tho Bell for 2 load of lime	00	01	10
To Cuthbert Rawlin for stones	00	03	0
to Tho Miller for leading stones	00	06	0
to Tho Miller for going below sleepers*	00	02	0

The cost was met out of £32 in hand from the sale of wood, but the "sixteen" were afraid of infringing their custom, and stipulated that the next expenditure on the seadyke should be raised by "purvey" rate. There were some "extras" :—

Item to Tho Bigland for binding ye sleepers about ye eastermost pillar being not known to be defective when the work was fest	0	3	0
Item Paid Joseph Johnstone for working stone work att New Bridge and finding lime and 20 stones each stone between 4 and 5 quarters of a yard long and 9 or 10 in thick	6	0	0

The "sixteen men" were somewhat doubtful about cutting down so much of the wood, and they took council with Lawyer R. Gilpin and again with Mr. Christian.

Item Paid and disbursed to Lawer Christian for a fee on the 29th Oct 1718 when John Barwise John Osmotherley and myself (John Penrise) and John Wise went to advize about Wedholme Wood and other things relating to the Parish	0	10	0
Item for John Penrises journey and expenses when he went to the said Lawer	0	1	6

* The foundation would be laid on wooden sleepers, the foundations being bad.

Item For John Penrise journey to Ribton and so to Cockermouth and from thence to Braton in advizeing what methods to take with them who refuse to pay their Taxes to New Bridge & Harlaw Bridge jurney and expenses ... ... 0 . 2 . 0

Item For jurney to Braton when went to meet farmers of Silloth Grange who refused to pay their Taxes to the said Bridges to gett the matter decided before Mr Lawson according to his orders ... ... 0 . 1 . 0

John Penrise was allowed 1s. per day for overseeing at the seadike. Wages for labourers seem then to have been 8d. per day, and carpenters and masons 1s. To cheer the carpenters John "bestowed on them 3 flagons of ale," which cost the parish 2s.

John Penrise must have been something above the ordinary run of his class. He actually ventures to write down an opinion (!) under date October 21st, 1718. After bemoaning the fact that after wood was sold the money was lost "through ill debtors and others," he advocates cutting the wood and paying the tenants.

Knowing by our books of accounts that ye Tennants have wrought many hundreds of days work gratis for spairing their wood which is now decayed and might as well have been cutt down and sold for defraying of the said gratis work.

Next John set himself to work at a reform in a different matter :—

Aprill the 15th 1718 Whereas we the Sixteen Men in their Lordship . . . having assembled our selves att ye Church . . . and foreasmuch as the scoolmaster belonging to the Parish hath formerly taught and att this time teacheth scollars in the said Church to the much disorder thereof both in breaking of the windows and spoiling of the seats by running over them as we have this day observed wherefore for ye good and better government of the scollars and benefit to the parish in respect to the Church It is ordered . . . that a house be farmed for the said Maister to teach scollars in And having information yt Benjamin Farish hath one firehouse containing two room steads near adjoyning to the Churchyard to lett to farm

. . . we have this day agreed with the said Benjamin Farish and farmed the said house of him ye said Benjamin for one whole year after the day of the date herof and ye said Benjamin to repaire the house in thack and to keep itt drop free And to glaiz the windows with good glass at his own proper cost & charge In consideration of which we have promised to pay unto the said Benjamin or his assigns the sum of ten shillings att or upon the 15th day of Aprill next after the date herof which will be in the year of our Lord God one thousand seven hundred and nineteen.

In the accounts presented February 10th, 1715, appear the following items:—

	£	s.	d.
Imprimus to the parish two turnes at the Seadike each Tenant two days	36	9	0
Item to Lawer Christian for his opinion about Lords & Records Exp	0	10	6
Item to Lawer Eglonby for his opinion	0	10	0
Item to Lawer Christian for his opinion of tith ...	0	2	0
Item for setting up ye Diall in the Abbey ...	0	0	6
Item to Lawer Christian when consulted with him att Robt Jeffersons about Parish writtings	0	12	6

On October 22nd, 1720, on the election of schoolmaster:—

We have being to us presented as we suppose a very able honest & sufficient person viz Mr Thomas Nicholson our present curate who will oblige himself (partly for the good of the parish and partly for his own benefitt) . . . the said Mr Nicholson will himself take in hand to teach instruct and educate children & youth within the sd Lorppe untill they be found fitt for the University if their parents think it convenient to prefer them.

The item paid to Lawyer Christian about the lord and the records is explained in an entry inserted out of the usual order:—

ix 10br 1718. Whereas the Lords Stewards of this Lorpp makeing a demand of an Inspection into our papers least the Lords right should be imberelled and upon refusal of the same they threatening the tenants with suite . . . a proclamation was made the Sabbath

before the date of this order and according to Proclam^tn did convene att the Churh and it was thought convenient by the majority to retaine our writings from y^m and to grant an order for an assessm^t least a suite should depend and we be unprovided.

Lawyer Gilpin was consulted in 1721 concerning the wood and "our writeings," and he charged 10s. He seems to have been living at Whitehaven, and John Jackson and John Barwis charged 4s. for a journey thither. Lawyer Christian came over to the abbey the same year to "peruse our writeings," for which he charged £1 10s., while it took 17s. 10d. "for expenses at Ben Farishes at that time."

The second volume of minutes begins "October ye 25th Ano Dom 1721." To make assurance doubly sure Lawyer Christian again visited the abbey, and consulted with Mr. Gilpin as to "our writeings." The "sixteen book" cost 5s. out of the parish stock. The parish schoolmaster seemed a trouble in these days. In 1722 Thomas Harrison is appointed, and in 1723 Thomas Palmer was appointed. During this period the seadike was requiring constant attention, the yearly sums expended in wood and labour ranging from £15 to £20.

Again the schoolmaster! —

Holme Cultram March the 23^d 1727. Whereas certain of our Parishners did undertake and hire Mr Wm Martindale to officiate as parish clerke & Schoolmaster for this present year for the sum of £16 5^s and some time lately did make proclamation for the inhabitants to provide a clerke for the ensueing year for they desire to keep the s^d Mr William Martindale for a private School and to cofine him to a certain number of Sholars and accordingly did, which caused a great murmuring & complaining amongst the inhabitants who were excluded the shool we . . . did make proclamation for the inhabitants so complaining to provide a sufficient parish clerke . . . and that we would meet them at ye usuall place this day . . . but none being offered but the same Mr William Martindale we defered granting him any order till Easter tuesday & then if we could not better our hand we wod agree with him.

Martindale was eventually given the order, but on the ground of opening his school to all who came. After a century of patching, the churchwardens at length agreed to take in hand the reparation of the church in earnest. We cannot congratulate them on the architectural effect, for at that time the abbey assumed its present barn-like appearance. However, though unsightly, the work was well done, and lasted with scarcely any cost for over a century and a half.

Holme Cultram October ye 8 1728 Whereas our Parish Church is repairing & it is found that 2 dormonts and some joists are so decayed that there must be new ones provided . . . considering ye great necessity and ye winter season of ye year for fetching such carriages so far have agreed that they shall have wood in Wedholme to supply the aforesaid want.

The total cost up to January 30, 1728, was £82 12s. 1d., and this was met by a levy of 35 purveys. It would appear that the material was bought by the churchwardens, and the stone work executed by day's work. The internal fitting was worked by Richard Smirk, of Wigton, house carpenter, his contract, which is still in existence, amounting to £37. Instructions are given that "all persons sitting or standing in any of the said pews may see the head of the minister when in the pulpit or reading desk." It seems the old "three-decker" pulpit was thus specified :—"To erect and work a new pulpit in a sexagonal form like to that in Cockermouth Church, a reading desk for the minister, and a seat for the clerk, all in form as afforsaid, and in a workmanlike manner with rails, bannisters, and steps." (See Appendix I.)

It would seem that when the church was renovated the Manor Court and meetings of the "sixteen men," which up to that time had been held there, were held in the village ale house, not without expense, the favours being equally divided between the house of Ben Farish and that of Mary Briggs. The following entry is interesting :—

Be itt remembered by all that in this present year of our Lord 1743 the Parishioners of Abbey Holm being nonplussed for a clerke and schoolmaster There arose a dispute between ye Vicar Mr Thos Boak & ye parishioners in & concerning ye appointment nomination & election of a Parish Clerke and Schoolmaster The Vicar aforsd c'aimed ye sole right & prerogative in nominating his own clerk; according to ye ancient custom ye Parishioners and sixteen men had ye Choice Together with ye vicar but the Vicar's voice only as another man and no further (It looks highly reasonable ye parish should have ye great sway in choice . . . of a clerke and schoolmaster as his sallery wholy Depends upon Them And are compelled by orders from ye Sixteen Men of ye paymt of ye clerks wage time Immemorial)

Upon this dispute above the Under named Persons being some of ye most exact & curious in seeing their Ancient Custom kept up as not willing to have ye least Jott or tittle diminished at their own proper cost & charges went to Lawyer Christian for an opinion And gott itt in their favour togeth with Mr Holmes assistance cost them 3£ . 16 . o It was thought proper to Insert itt in this Book as a never dying Evidence That hereafter no Unnecessary Costs or troubles may arise upon such a unwarrantable claim That may hereafter be made by ye Vicar of Abbey Holm.

For ye aforesaid Mr Boak seeing himself so eagerly withstood by ye under signed for their Right & priviledge Returned itt into their Hands to do their pleasure in choice of a Clerke & Schoolmaster and George Whinfield was electd Clerk & Schoolmaster March ye 7th 43.

As sums of money were already in existence belonging to the parish, and such were likely to be largely increased through the sale of wood, the following order is recorded:

An order made by ye 16 men for ye better Security of Parish Stock made Decembr ye ninth 1748.

We ye Sixteen Men or Sidesmen for ye Parish of Abby Holm for ye years 1748 49 & 50 do Covenant & agree That ye Parish Stock after ye day of ye date hereof Be equally Divid each person to pay eightpence by ye pound consideration annually for Value received and at ye full end & term of 3 years . . . Then ye old Sixteen are to return in their respective sumes Together with three years Interest att Eightpence p pound . . . the foreman shall have liberty or power to appoint & chuse one person out of ye 4 belonging to each of ye Quarters to give a note or Bond for ye security of ye Sum

receiv[d] by each Quarter . . . and upon refusall . . . y[e] Foreman take into his own hand giving a note or Bond to y[e] Satisfaction of y[e] Sixteen Men.

To put down unruly conduct in the churchyard the following order is made :—

7th 10[br] 48. We y[e] Churchwardens & Sixteen do give Notice that if any person or persons whatever discharge their Musquetts and throw Ball or shott into y[e] Church door* after y[e] date hereof being y[e] 21 of January in 49 shall be charg[d] for y[e] Damage as y[e] Law Directs for such unwarrantable Crimes Likewise if any unlawfull Assemblies make their appearance in y[e] Churchyard and fight cocks or perform any other games whatever in that place To y[e] shame & disgrace of all such as follow y[e] practice besides defacing y[e] most fundamentall principalls of our profession and making ourselves a Laughing Stock to others of different presuasions be whome they will that are found guilty of this heinous & unseemly offence shall be informed of to y[e] Lord Bishop of Carlisle and shall be prosecut[d] to y[e] utmost rigour of y[e] Spiritual Court As witt Our hands

Tho[s] Barwise &c.

On the same day a long order was made regarding the woodwardens and their duties, from which I extract the following :—

That whenever any Storms or High Wind arise . . . Breaking or blowing down any Trees . . . that some of the Woodwardens go & view y[e] wood blown down & take an account of y[e] Trees and their marks & place in their book . . . and to proclaim a Sale Day w[ch] never ought to be before y[e] 10th of May or after Lukemas.

We order y[e] Woodwardens to have nothing but att y[e] Descretion of y[e] 16 men (not to be their own carriers) either for attendance before or after y[e] Sale according to a former order by y[e] late Sixteen they allowed 6[d] per diem we not being willing to abolish the same agree to 6[d] but not above Butt are not free to allow any money for treating y[e] Carpenters when they have 1[s] per d. w[ch] is wage sufficient.

Such a storm soon afterwards happened :—

* The outside porch bears marks of these bullets to the present day.

Oct. 8. 1756 Then happened a great hurricane which in Wedholme Wood blew down upwards of Eighty Trees and soon covered the ground with Boughs the Woodwardens seeing this dismal prospect refused to act any longer in their office upon such refusal the Sixteen Men sold the Wood so blown down and did every other Act or thing for the benefit of the Parish.

	£	s	d
Wood sold in Wedholme Nov 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 1756	207	12	7
Wood sold in Wedholme 10th of June 1757	17	17	9½
Do. 15th June 1758	19	18	2½
The Birch wood & Boughs sold to the Amount of ...	38	0	0
Ballance due the Parish for two years sales 1754-1756	76	1	3½
Ballance	397	13	11½

Liquor seems to have been provided at these sales :—

	£	s	d
To Joseph Brough for ale and Brandy at the Sales in Wedholme Three days	2	19	8
To Ben Wise for ale & Brandy at the Sale one day ...	1	6	0
To Mrs Barnes ,, ,, ,, ...	1	5	5
To Mary Steel ,, ,, ,, ...	0	19	0

Proclaiming the sales on St. Luke's day cost 4d., and crying the sales three days 3s.; while carpenters had increased their wage in the last few years to 1s. 2d. per day.

In 1760-1765 the parish stock had arisen to £1,024 11s. 3d., and the first real estate, West House, was purchased for £930, and about the same time it was agreed to open a house as a Workhouse for the poor, "as they are become so numerous," and Robert Wise, from whom West House had been purchased, opened part of his house for that purpose.

On January 25th, 1766 :—

We the Churchwardens & Sixteen Men do hereby nominate elect appoint & assign Thomas Wilson to be Sexton for this present year & to be subject to the following articles viz to Dig Graves for all persons under seven years of age for ... ... 4d per grave
And between seven and sixteen for ... ... 6d ,,
And all above sixteen for ... ... 8d ,,

Without any impositions And to ring ye Bells at all Burials and to have his pay so long as he shall keep this our order.

The Clerk is bound by the Book of Articles to sweep the Church four times a year Namely First before the Feast of Easter 2d Before the Feast of Pentecost 3 Before the Feast of St Michael ye Archangel 4th Before the Nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ and to ring the Bells on Sabbath days Holy Days & Fast Days so long as he shall continue & keep this our Order.

Whereas a great complaint is made of assembling in the Church in the night of Singers and a rabble following them with an Intent to do all the mischief they can breaking windows & abusing the Church Leaving their indecent excrement in the Seats with resolute malice against the Assembly or ye Church To the great dishonour of Almighty God & the ignominious ridicule of our Religion by all them who are of another persuasion* Besides defiling the holy & sanctified place where Moses & Joshua might not stand but with their shoes off Such & such like I say & indicating themselves to do greater damages where conceived Also we order strictly forbid any proclamation to be made in the Church or Churchyard relating to any Games as Hunting Hare coursing Cockfighting Wrestling Dancing Schools or other Gaming and also Ministers Churchwardens Clerks School Masters & School Mistresses and Parents they are to restrain children from playing there which will prevent breaking of windows breaking of Tombstones and Headstones and writing ridiculous sentences upon them to the great dishonour of the Sanctified place & damage to the Parish—And these are our orders Given under our hands Isaac Jefferson.

Mr. Jefferson had an unpleasant experience when he took up his office :—

Whereas great complaint was made by the Tenants of Skinbernees who got Mr John Brisco for their Spokesman & a great oration he made to the Steward of the Manor That very evening that we were sworn into place before me and some others who are here present . . . . so when he had ended his oration The Stewards gave them for answer " that if us the New Sixteen did not see to it That he would have them to file a Bill in chancery against us " Then I said " Sir we will assemble ourselves there within 15 days and whatever is thought proper & necessary when viewed by us shall be done " . . . . Then the Steward said " we are not to condemn men before they are tried."

* An allusion to the Society of Friends, who were at this time very numerous in the district.

January 28 1767. Did William Glaister send for me to go & view the Seadike which they had cut two days before to let out the fresh that came down at the Breaking of the frost & Great snow which voluntary act with the force of the water did wash & scour away three times as much as was cut for the passage The Tides running extremely high at the same time it being New Moon we were obliged to set men to work ye next day to repair ye same.

Saturday Feb 13 1768 Was the greatest Innundation of fresh water that ever was known at Skinbernees in the Memory of Man as they say they were obliged to cut the Seadike at three different places so that it run with great violence for four days upon Wednesday the 17th we set men to work.

The next item of interest occurs in 1771 :—

Memorandum. Whereas the New Bridge being thrown down in the year 1767* and being after to be rebuilt it was therefore agreed by the Tenants that as it would be endless and imprudent always to be heaping up money in the Public Stock without receiving any benefit thereof So it was thought most advisable to take the Tenants part of the expenses of Building that Bridge out of the money arising from Wedholme Wood accordingly 300£ was taken from the stock and 150 purveys paid by the Freeholders as their proportionable share of the expences thereof The freeholders having no Right in Wedholme Wood.

In 1778 the last payment of £100 was made to the "sixteen men" for Wedholme Wood. The good intentions of the "sixteen" in regard to planting "accrons" and "springeing the bools" had not been successful, and hereafter Wedholme Wood disappears from the parish possessions and the parish books after a period of over two centuries, and reverted to Sir William Musgrave as lessee of the grazing thereon. The "sixteen" were, however, in possession of land at West House and Swinsty which had cost them nearly £3,000.

Memorandum. In consequence of the Tenants of East Waver Quarter being dissatisfied that the Foreman of the Sixteen was not appointed in their Quarter it was concluded that for the future He should be appointed in turn in each division.

* By the break up of the long frost.

Little of interest marks the proceedings of the "sixteen men" during the closing years of the eighteenth century. One item, however, is interesting :—

		£	s	d
1790 6 March.	To the Tennants of Pelutho for the releaseing of a free Bull at West House	46	10	0

In feudal days the obligation of keeping a bull for the use of each village or grieveship was placed sometimes on the tenants in turn, sometimes on a particular tenement, and it was to get rid of this obligation that this money was paid.

In 1802 some trouble seems to have arisen as to the payment of tithes, the "sixteen" being cited by Rev. W. Barker, who farmed their Swinsty estate, for the non-payment of tithes. This was a false move on the part of Barker, for he was ejected from his farm, and he was also indebted to the parish the sum of £70. In the same year a farm at Skinburness was bought, while the balance in cash and securities amounted to over £1,700. These assets were soon dispersed, as the following resolution shows :—

January 1 1810 At a Meeting of the 16 and others held at West House on the day above written it was agreed that the West House Estate and the Skinburness Estate and the Commons alotted to them and also the Common alotted to Swinsty Estate all the property of the Copyhold Tenants should be sold & the money arising from such Sales together with the principal monies already in possession of the Tenants should be applied for & towards defraying the expences of the Inclosure of the Commons & wastes within the Manor & Parish of Holm Cultram and the following Tenants were appointed to carry the agreement into effect and also do & perform such other matters and things as are usual & customary for the 16 men to do. Joseph Saul &c.

In the period 1810-1821 the receipts from the sale of land, &c., were £11,713 16s. 11d., and expenditure £11,629 13s. 3d., the cost of enclosing the commons having

cost £9425 6s., and legal expenses in procuring an Act of Parliament £167 2s. 8d.

Little arose to disturb the usual routine until 1880, when through an agitation having arisen for a public audit, which was refused by the "sixteen men," the affair was thrown into Chancery on a technical point, and ultimately a Seadike Charity was drafted by the Charity Commissioners, which to-day consists of:—

The representatives of Holm Low Ward on the District Council of Holme Cultram.
One representative from each ward chosen by the District Council.
The chairman of the Council for the time being.
Two representatives from each Quarter chosen by the copyholders in the Manor Court.

The scheme has worked smoothly, but it was obtained at the ruinous law costs of £2,356 4s. 8d. At present the income of the trust is about £160, derived from real estate and consols, the yearly expenditure on the seadyke amounting to £3 or £4 a year.

Although in the course of over 300 years no events of great importance disturbed the doings of the "sixteen men," and the political troubles are not mentioned in their minutes, a perusal of these old books cannot fail to convey a lesson to us of the yeoman class—generation after generation taking up their share in parish work, and although not conversant with business or the keeping of accounts, yet discharged their duty in a manner eminently satisfactory, and under difficulties which, fortunately, in our day we are not called on to endure.

APPENDIX I.

THE ACCOMPT OF THE DISBURSMENTS OF THE CHURCHWARDENS FOR Y^E^ YEAR 1729.

	£	s.	d.	qr.
For new rought lead at Penrith to the Church being ten horse lods and bringing it from Penrith ...	17	8	9	2

	£	s.	d.	qr.
Ffor dales bought at Allanby of John Beaby £8 14s 4d of Thomas Osborne 8s 8d of Henry Burket of Workinton £10 11s	19	14	0	0
Ffor leading dales from Allanby and from Workinton	2	16	6	0
Ffor Ropes bought at Edward Pearsons of Workinton blocks 3s and to John Chambers for fixing them and coming to Abbey to help with the Dormounts 4s	1	16	5	0
Ffor binding Nails to the Sheets of Lead & for Nails & locks	3	15	7	0
Ffor peats and coals and sand leading and other expences in all towards the fire to cast ye lead...	0	15	7	0
Paid to the Plumbers for new cast sheats at 5s a sheat being 43 new sheats £10 15s for new seams in one side being 35 the other side being 42 at 2s a seam	18	19	0	0
To Thomas Bigland for leading the Dormounts and jeasts to the rest of the Wrights for work and to the Churchwardens for working and overseeing ye work	16	3	0	0
To Mr Nicholson for a coppy of the Register for washing and rubbing the Communion Plate and for going to Carlisle to advize with the Chanceler and for going to Penreth to buy the lead and for going two times to Workinton to buy and pay for dales and ropes and blocks for lime and leading it to mend the Churchyard Walls ...	1	16	4	0
To William Curmalt for use of Borrowed money. To James Newton for going to Penrith and for glaizeing the windows	0	18	0	0
John Jefferson Churchwarden paid out of his own money to answer the other quarters 45s which he should have had of Silloth town But Sr Richard Musgrave of Hayton Castle detained for his expences when he was one of the Eight Trustees that should have repaired the Church before				
Old Serkin sold and payed to the workmen to the value of fifty shillings				
For Sowder and lying it on £3 13s 9d for two new sheets casting and glaizening the windows ...	4	3	9	0

APPENDIX II.

FOREMEN OF THE SIXTEEN MEN.

1588.—Thomas Chambers, Raby Cote.
1601.—Thomas Chambers, Raby Cote.
1612.—Thomas Chambers, Raby Cote.
1618.—Heugh Askew, Seaville Cote.
1630-1636.—John Osmotherley, Dubmill.
1636-1639.—John Osmotherley, Dubmill.
1649.—John Jackson, Swinsty.
1650-1651.—Thomas Chamber, Hertlaw.
1655.—John Jackson, Swinsty.
1661-1664.—William Chambers, Raby Cote.
1664-1667.—Ffrancis Grainger, Southerfield.
1667-1670.—Robert Sibson, Old Mawbray.
1670-1673.—John Hodgson, High Laws.
1673-1676.—William Chamber, Raby Cote.
1676-1679.—John Jackson, Swinsty.
1679-1682.—John Waite, High Laws.
1683-1686.—William Osmotherly, Dubmill.
1686-1688.—John Penrise, Causeway Head.
1688-1691.—John Wise, Sevil.
1691-1694.—Thomas Jefferson, Southerfield.
1694-1697.—Joseph Barne, Fermary Cowper.
1697-1700.—Robert Hewson, of Sleightholme.
1700-1715.—John Wilson, Blackdyke.
1715-1718.—John Penrise, Calsey Head.
1718-1721.—John Barwis, Lowsey.
1721-1724.—Richard Barwis, Etherside.
1724-1727.—James Ffarish, Calvo.
1727-1730.—Thomas Barwis, New Cowper.
1730-1733.—Francis Hall, Angerton.
1733-1736.—John Barwis, Lowsey.
1736-1739.—John Barn, Lees.
1739.—John Liddle, Moorhouse.
1742.—Thomas Barwis, Dubmill.
1745.—John Barnes, Dockray.
1748.—Thomas Barwise, New Cowper.
1751.—Thomas Watman, Newton Arlosh.
1754.—Robert Chamber, Newton Arlosh.
1759.—William Martindale, Seville.
1765.—Isaac Jefferson, The Hill.
1768.—John Winder, Brownrigg.
1771.—Robert Sibson, Mawbray.

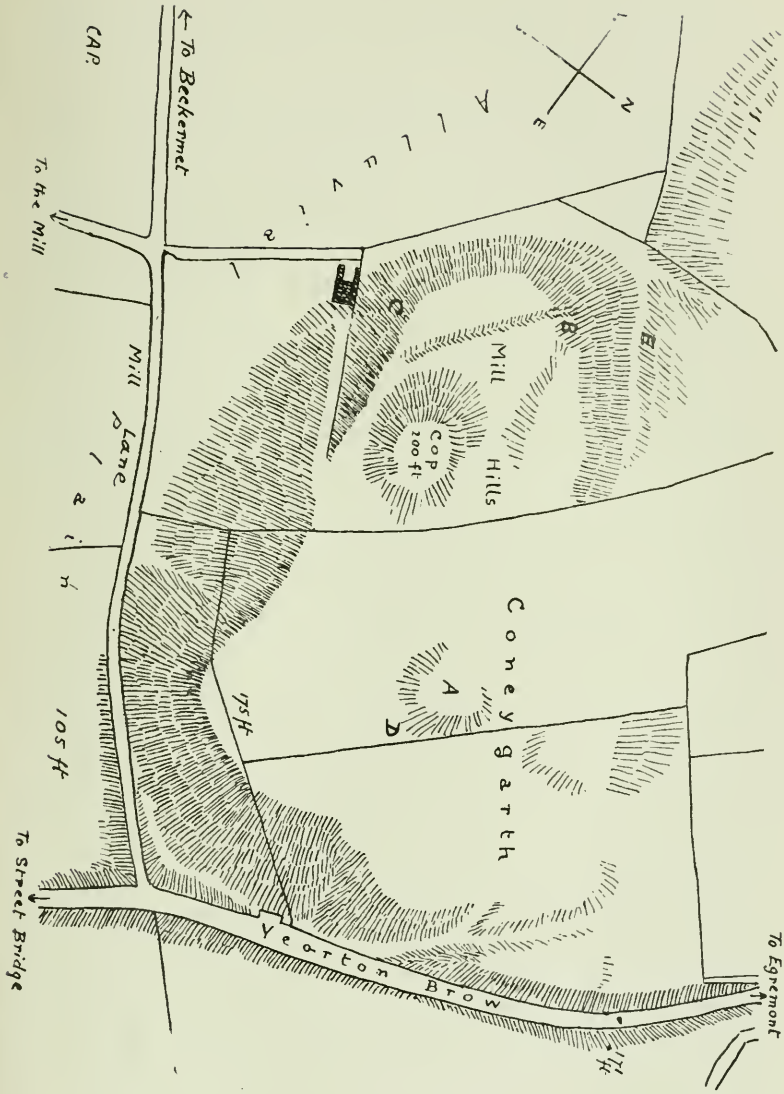
1775.—Richard Barnes, Wolsty Close.
1778.—John Winder, Brownrigg.
1782.—Robert Sibson, Mawbray.
1786.—Joseph Taylor, Raby.
1789.—Robert Peat, Seaville.
1792.—William Glaister, Red Flatt.
1795.—Ostle Barwise, Nook.
1798.—Richard Jackson, Mosside.
1801.—Joseph Barnes, Wolsty Close.
1807.—John Jefferson, The Hill.
1810 { Richard Barwise, Edderside.
1810 { Joseph Saul, New House.
1821.—John Biglands, Saltcoats.
1823.—John Wilson Wise, Sevil.
1826.—Mungo Glaister, Red Flatt.
1829.—Jonathan Holliday, West House.
1832.—William Donald, Newton Arlosh.
1835.—Robert Peat, Seaville.
1838.—Jonathan Farlam, Border.
1841.—Thomas Chambers, Pelutho.
1844.—Ismay Stubbs, Raby Coat.
1847.—Robert Glaister, Blackdyke.
1851.—John Younghusband, Abbey Cowper.
1853.—John Holliday, Mawbray Hayrigg.
1856.—William Huddart, Newton Arlosh.
1859.—John Holliday, Causeway Head.
1862.—John Grainger, Southerfield.
1865.—Thomas Chambers, Pelutho.
1868.—Robert Glaister, Saltcoats.
1871.—Joseph Barnes, Wolsty Close.
1874.—John Steel, Southerfield.
1877.—Joseph Holliday, Tarns.
1880.—Joseph Martindale, High House.
1883.—John Holliday, Causeway Head.

ART. XII.—*Caernarvon Castle, a forgotten Stronghold.* By C. A. PARKER, F.S.A., Scot.

Read at the Site, June 11th, 1902.

ABOUT a mile north-west of Calder Bridge, the "High Street," as the road is locally called, begins to slope down into the valley of the Kerbeck or Kirkbeck, crossing the stream by Street Bridge. When viewed from below, it is plain to see that the bridge has been built in four sections at different periods. The original arch is almost semi-circular, and nine feet in width underneath. The first addition has been made on the east of this, and further additions on each side have been made at some later date—possibly at the same time. Calder Bridge, before its rebuilding a few years since, was in three sections, and is referred to by Sandford as a "bride" or bridle bridge. It seems probable that this main road, which runs fairly straight from Holmrook to Hensingham, is on the later Roman track, which possibly followed an earlier British way, for this is the natural course to take, keeping on the higher and dryer ground and crossing valleys at narrow points. To the south we find the same road called the "High Street" between Bootle and Millom, and at Streetgate near Dalton; while dedicators of land at Ponsonby, Ravenglass, and Bootle, in the thirteenth century, all bound their grants by "the great road to the south."

To the north of Street Bridge the road, now artificially raised in some parts and sunk in others, runs up what was formerly the steep ascent of Yeorton Brow; Mill Lane turns off on the left and runs directly south-west to the village of Beckermet, skirting a steep grassy eminence divided into pasture fields called Coneygarth and Mill Hills, or Coneygarth Cop. Other fields close by and Mr.


CAP.
← To Beckermet
To the Mill
Alluvial
Mill Lane
Mill Hills
Cop 200 ft
Coneygarth
175 ft
105 ft
To Street Bridge
Yearton Brow
To Egremont

Selkirk's house are also called Coneygarth. The name Mill Hills arises from the field belonging to Beckermet Mill.

There is little here to engage the attention of the antiquary were it not for the account of the place written by Sir Daniel Fleming over 200 years ago, and the allusions to it by Denton. It is marked on some old maps, but the place is so utterly forgotten that it was difficult for me to find even in Beckermet any one who knew where Caernarvon Castle was. "I never heard of it before," was the usual answer.

Sir Daniel* mentions by the Kerbeck the ruins of a notable fort or castle of an oblong square, 100 yards by 90, with great banks and ditches, two entrances, and within the enclosure an artificial round hill, 36 feet high, called Coneygarth Cop, the whole being called by the country people Caernarvon Castle.

The river plain of the Kerbeck is 105 feet above the sea at Street Bridge. From it Coneygarth rises very steeply to 175 feet, the slope being somewhat masked on the east by the embankment of the main road and the end of Mill Lane. The top of the hill is a slightly undulating plateau rising to about 190 feet at A. Given a sufficient force to defend it, the position is very strong on the east, south, and west, and as weak on the north, the ground there being level. Watering places exist at B and C, the water being brought in pipes from the interior of the hill, and at D is a pump. From a gateway on Yeorton Brow, situated at the one point where the road is on its ancient level—*i.e.*, where the embanking ceases and the cutting begins—the hollow way, called by Sir Daniel the main entrance, runs obliquely up the slope and seems to divide at the top. On the west, starting from the barn, an old ramp runs up from west to east. I take this to be Sir Daniel's west entrance, unless he refers to the natural

* *Description of the County of Cumberland, 1671*, Ed. R. S. Ferguson, as No. 3 of the Tract Series of this Society, 1889, p. 6.

hollow on the north at E. If so, the east and west approaches probably met and had a common entrance on the level north side. The ramp is badly set out in a military sense, as an assailant rushing up would have his left, shield-bearing side turned towards the defenders. It agrees, however, with the old account, as "opposite and near ye same, in ye edge of ye mount" is the highest and most conspicuous knoll, Coneygarth Cop. This seems to be more or less separated from the rest of the plateau by a depression. To the west are faint traces of a mound and hollow, which may, however, be an old fence. What strikes one most forcibly is the enormous amount of land and sea that is visible from the cop. Even Ravenglass is in sight.

I fail to make out any certain traces of the trenches mentioned. They have evidently been intentionally filled by levelling the banks, both the cop and the mound A having been dug into to supply earth.

Coneygarth, derived from Cyningsgarth or Konungsgarth, signifies "the King's or chieftain's enclosure;" but Caernarvon, a Celtic name, takes us further back. Mr. John Rogers, of Barrow, says *Ar mhon* (Arfon) means "over against Mona." In Wales Caer-n-arfon is "the castle opposite Anglesey;" here in Cumberland it is "the castle opposite Man"—both anciently Mona. "Castle"* was probably added late in its history—perhaps after its desertion, for it seems never to have been a castle in the usual sense of the word. There is a Coneyside at Coulderton, about two miles away; also a cop.

A Celtic name suggests an occupation of some sort by the Cumbrian Briton, and it may be that there was a "caer" on this high dry hill, in which there is a good water supply, and from which so great an extent of country can be seen. Many stone implements have been found in swampy grounds not far away, but nothing on

* "Castle" is locally applied to almost any building. We have Hardknott Castle, Walls Castle, Starling Castle, Maiden Castle, Cobra Castle, &c.

the hill except querns of uncertain date. Six perfect pairs of these were ploughed up in Coneygarth, and fragments of several others. One pair is at Rheda, another at Springfield, a third was given to Major Fletcher, and the rest are in the possession of Mr. J. D. Thompson, of Barwickstead. What we seem to see clearly is that the Welsh-speaking country folk about there in the twelfth century called the place Caernarvon, and that the Normans adopted the name.

Other races intervened more or less. We should naturally expect the inhabitants of such a place to be dispossessed in the eighth century by the Angle invader, who came creeping along the Roman way looking for fertile lands. Yeorton may be an Anglian name from "heord" and "tun"—the town of herds or herdsmen—but is even more likely to be derived from some Norse form resembling Hjardarholt, such as Hjardartun, Hjardtun, &c., corrupted words which would soon spring up among foreign settlers in England.

The Norseman undoubtedly did come. He seems to have settled three-quarters of a mile away at Godderthwaite, leaving his mark clearly. From the nature of some of the cross fragments at St. John's he seems to have buried his dead there, and given rise to the names Beckermet and Coneygarth. Godderthwaite may be *Godha thveit*—the lawman's cleared land—or from *Gudda* or *Goddi*, short for Gudridr and Gudormr*—Gudrid's thwaite. The adjoining farm Stephney or Steveney, written Stavenerge temp. Henry II.,† may be like Sizergh, Langlifergh, Ninesergh, the sæter or dairy farm of Stephen,‡ or, as Mr. Sargent suggests, from *stefnu*—a meeting place. There is another Beckermet in Yorkshire in a similar position, and to which the same meaning is given.

* Cleasby and Vigfússon, *Dict.*, p. xxxiv.
† Nicolson and Burn, ii., p. 524.
‡ W. G. Collingwood.

Sir Daniel's account accurately describes the arrangement of earthworks formerly thought to denote an Anglian "burh," but now considered to be the remains of early Norman defences, which consisted mainly of palisading. Probably the two were very much alike. The lower plateau or base court of Egremont Castle was, I think, palisaded. Burhs were much built and rebuilt by King Eadweard in the beginning of the tenth century.

According to West, Baldwin of Flanders, of whom Kingsley remarks "he loved to be on the winning side," sent his kinsman Michael, whom he knew to be a valiant man, to assist the English King. Michael le Fleming —the man from Flanders—was sent north against the partisans of Edwin and Morcar, and rewarded with the manor of Aldingham and other estates in Furness. At Aldingham the well-known moat or "mota" and apparently part of the ditch of a base court still remain, once the property of the same family who possessed Caernarvon. Sir Michael lived to an advanced age, and is said to have received from William de Meschines the manors of Beckermet, Frizington, Rottington, Weddicar, Arlochden, Kelton, Salter, and Brunrigg, in Cumberland, all being dependent manors of Beckermet. What happened to Caernarvon in the great raid of 1138, when Calder Abbey and St. Bees were sacked, history sayeth not.

Sir Michael died soon after 1153, and was buried in the abbey of Furness. His second son, Sir Richard le Fleming, Kt., succeeded to the Cumberland estates and some lands in Lancashire, and "was seated at Caernarvon Castle, Beckermet." He acquired the fishery of Thurstan water, died about 1207, and was buried in Furness Abbey. His only son, Sir John le Fleming of Caernarvon, Kt., gave, about 1241, the church of Arlochden and land in Beckermet to Calder Abbey, and at some other date the church of St. John, Beckermet. Dugdale says he was buried in Calder Abbey, and mentions the "fret of six

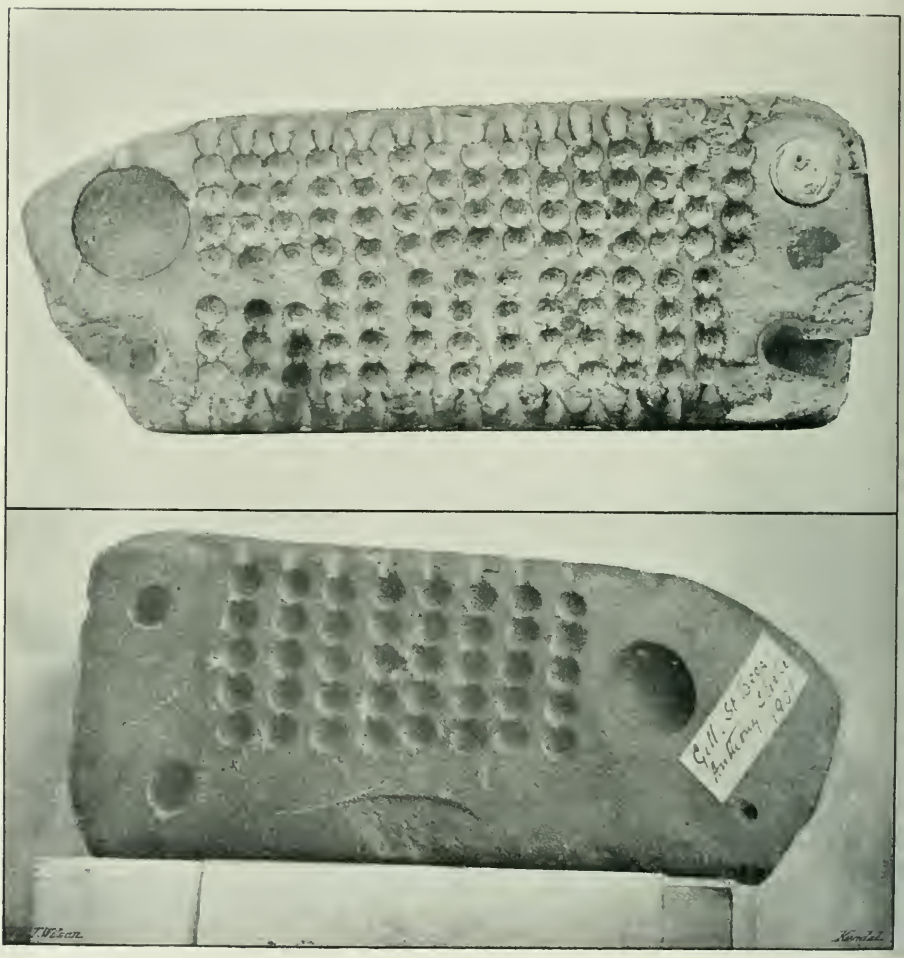
pieces" on the shield of the still existing effigy there, clothed from head to foot in the chain mail of the period. Below the figure is a stone coffin cut out of a solid block of stone, with separate hollow for the head, which, when accidentally broken into a few years since, disclosed the skull and thigh bones and much dust of the departed knight.

His son, Sir Richard le Fleming, Kt., married Elizabeth, daughter and ultimately heiress of Adam de Urswick, in Furness, a man of Norse descent. By this marriage he got the manors of Urswick, Coniston, Claughton, and Kerneford,* and abandoning Caernarvon and its "burh" built, about 1250, the first Coniston Hall in what was possibly a quieter part of the country. Denton says that after the marriage "this castle was allowed to fall into decay, and at last was demolished. This may be true, but there seems little doubt but that this Sir Richard lies buried in the abbey of Calder." He died about 1270, and at Calder Abbey is part of an effigy which bears carved upon its canopy a crescent and star, which Dugdale says formed the badge of Sir Richard and appeared upon his seal.

The old accounts make no mention of stonework, and the hill is singularly devoid of stone of any kind; nor are there any old stones to be seen in buildings at Beckermet, though some of the early grave-covers at St. John's are probably from Fleming tombs. The local legend, which assigns the fine thirteenth-century door with monks' heads at St. John's Church to a chapel at Caernarvon, can hardly be believed. The date of the finished architecture precludes it, as at that time the castle was in course of being deserted. It probably formed part of the fine Early English church which once existed on the site of St. John's, and was most likely built after that church was given to Calder Abbey.

* That is, Carnforth. We have here another instance of the termination "ford" becoming "forth," as in the neighbouring parish of Goseford, Gosforth.

So Caernarvon Castle goes out of history. After the sword the plough-share. But the Flemings hold the manor of Beckermet yet, and direct descendants of old Sir John own an estate hard by.



BULLET-MOULD FROM GILL, ST. BEES.

TO FACE P. 223.

ART. XIII.—*Mould from Gill, St. Bees.* By C. A. PARKER, F.S.A., Scot.

Read at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

A MOULD of yellowish grey stone, 5¼in. long, 2⅛in. wide, and 1⅛in. thick, found in 1901 by Mr. Anthony Steele, of Gill, in the parish of St. Bees, when digging beside a cottage near his house. Part of a quern was found at the same time. It is a mould for casting bullets and shot of five or six varying sizes, and is evidently one of a pair or set. One face has been considerably rubbed away at both ends after its use as a bullet mould had been discontinued. This face has 40 hemispherical hollows, in rows of five across the stone, each member of a row touching its neighbour, and connected with it by a tiny channel. Larger channels lead from the edge of the stone into the outermost hole of each row. It is obvious that the mould must have been considerably heated to allow the lead to run through such small channels before cooling. At one end are remains of two holes for small bullets which appear to have been conical, and at the other end a rubbed down hollow and channel for a large spherical bullet. About half of the other face is taken up longitudinally by a set of 60 similar hollows for smaller shot, connected and channelled as before, the other half having 49 hollows for a still smaller size of shot, also connected and channelled from the other edge of the stone. At one end of this face are two hollows for conical bullets, and in the end itself are similar hollows, the axes of which are at right angles to those of the hollows on the face. The points of the cones have met in the interior of the stone, and the attempt to extract them has broken the two hollows into one in one case; in the other the lead remains. A similar double hollow is broken

away at the other end, and besides this is a hollow and channel for a spherical bullet ⅛th of an inch in diameter. The photographs are by Miss A. E. Brickhill, of Stockport.

[Note.—With this mould it may be convenient here to illustrate the crucifix mould found at Portinscale in the autumn of 1901, and described by Canon Rawnsley in these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., p. 418, and in his volume entitled *A Rambler's Notebook at the English Lakes* (MacLehose, 1902), in which the subject is dealt with on page 243. The mould was found in the carriage-way from Finkle Street to Moss Garth. Mr. C. H. Read, F.S.A., keeper of British and mediæval antiquities in the British Museum, to whom Canon Rawnsley showed the stone, gave as its date the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, and Canon Rawnsley points out that the shrine to St. Herbert on the island in Derwentwater was erected in 1374, so that this mould might have been used by a travelling moulder somewhat after that date to make little crucifixes for pilgrims who came, as many must have come, by the Finkle Street to Nichol Ending—"St. Nicholas' Landing"—on their way to St. Herbert's Island.

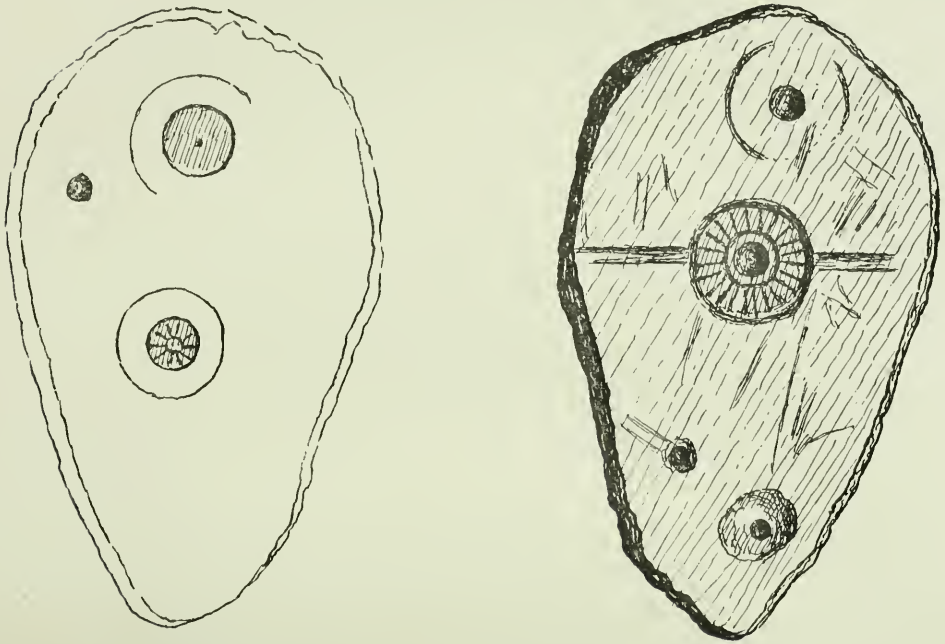
The photographs here reproduced are by Mr. Mayson, of Keswick. The upper figure represents one side of the stone (size of the original), with moulds for pins and buttons (perhaps meant to be the nails and five wounds of the Passion ?). The lower figure is from an impression or cast of the other side of the stone, taken for Canon Rawnsley, in order to show the crucifix in relief, as it would appear in the leaden cast. To see the effect one should look at this figure with the light coming from one's right hand. Examples of such leaden crucifixes and other *signacula* may be found in the Guildhall Museum, London. There are some moulds in the mediæval room of the British Museum, but none exactly like this, which, for our district at any rate, is unique.

There was, however, a mould found at Butterilket in Eskdale, at the foot of Hardknott, which, though not bearing a crucifix, appears to have been made, like this, for casting small leaden objects. Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., kindly allows us to reproduce his drawings of the Butterilket mould, which is of the size of the drawings, and, like the Portinscale stone, about half-an-inch thick. It seems to have been meant for the manufacture of buttons.

Another mould, of which mention may be made for comparison, was described by the late Chancellor Ferguson in these *Transactions*, iii., Art. 5. It was made of plumbago, and must have been used by a coiner of false money in the reign of Henry VII. It was found in Netherwasdale, and is now in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.—Ed.]

THE PORTINSCALE CRUCIFIX-MOULD.

TO FACE P. 224.



STONE MOULD FOUND AT BUTTERILKET, CUMBERLAND.

Actual size: from drawings by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.

ENTRANCE GATES—GOSFORTH HALL.

Photo. by Miss A. E. Brickhill.

TO FACE P. 227.

ART. XIV.—*Gosforth Hall.* By C. A. PARKER, F.S.A., Scot., and J. F. CURWEN, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at Gosforth, June 12th, 1902.

PART I.—HISTORICAL. By DR. PARKER.

GOSFORTH, Bolton, Santon, and Haile cannot have been given by William de Meschines, as Denton and the county histories state, to Thomas de Multon, of Gilsland, because de Multon was born some eighty years after the death of William. They may have been granted by William Fitz Duncan to Hubert de Vaux or de Vallibus, first baron of Gilsland, who granted to St. Bees fifty acres of land in Gosford about 1160.* From him they would descend to Thomas de Multon the Second, who married Maud de Vallibus, and thus became "of Gilsland;" but in some way the manor of Gosforth has become re-united with the original barony of Egremont, and is in the hands of Lord Leconfield.

The earliest known local owners were a family who adopted the name "de Gosford," which family ended about 1215 in an heiress Grace or Græcia de Gosford,† a lady whose name coincides with that of the wife of Hubert de Vallibus. Grace married Geoffry the Falconer, who adopted her name, so that for three generations the family was styled "le Falconer de Gosford." In 1316 or thereabouts the property was divided amongst the co-heiresses, one of whom, Elena, was the twenty-five years old widow of William de Kirkby. Twelve years later, John, the son of her elder sister, Agnes de Estholme, was in possession of three-fifths of the estate; and in 1610 the whole was in the hands of Kirkby, Pennington, and Senhouse.‡ About

* St. Bees Chartulary.
† St. Bees Chartulary.
‡ John Denton, ed. R. S. Ferguson, Tract Series of this Society, No. 2, p. 21.

1650 the descendants of the "de Gosforths" vanish, unless William Caddie, who was lord of part of Gosforth in 1649,* was a descendant of Mariota, daughter of Robert de Gosford, who married Alan Cadde. The receipt for the fine is witnessed by William Tubman. William Caddie was a member of the still existing family of Caddy of Rougholme, Waberthwaite. The property passed into the hands of the Copleys, and we get into touch with the old houses Gosforth Hall and Gosforth Gate, whose history is so intermixed.

Gosforth Gate occurs in the parish register in 1597 as the residence of Nicholas and Janet Cadye, both of whom died of the plague. In the next year it was occupied by Edward Tubman, a member of a family once widespread in the parish, seven of them dying during the two plague years. In 1599, at the adjoining tenement, Beck Place, a William Tubman was born, who succeeded to Beck Place, and was evidently a man of substance and education. He lost his wife Ann in 1637, and was left with one daughter, Isabella, apparently an only child. Robert Copley now appears.

This Robert Copley, chief bailiff of Copeland Forest, under the Earl of Northumberland, was probably a lawyer, as his son certainly was, and very likely a relative of Alvary Copley, of Batley, Yorks, whose daughter Isabel married, as her second husband, Joseph Pennington, of Muncaster, Esq., who died, according to Dugdale, in 1659. Copley was appointed steward to Pennington's little son William (baptized at Muncaster in 1655) during the 17 years of his minority, and purchased, about 1650, Kirkby's part of Gosforth. In 1652 he married Isabella Tubman, and in March, 1653, appeared with his wife before Joseph Pennington,† and they were admitted to the tenements of Beck Place, Walk Mill, and a parcel of ground called Syke. Neither Henry Ben, "register," nor John Robinson,

* Gosforth MS.
† Muncaster Court Rolls.

"preacher at Gosforth,"* during the Commonwealth, who in 1653 owed twenty shillings to "Thomas Curwen, of Sellowparke," troubled themselves to make any entries in the register, nor is the marriage in the note-book of William Thompson, the zealous J.P. of Thornflatt; but when, a few months later, William Tubman died someone cared. He received a burial befitting his circumstances, and in a fair and clerkly hand, probably Copley's own, is the interpolated entry:—†

Mr William Tubman, of Gosforth, buried in ye chancell there, ye 26th day of October, 1653.

By 1658 Copley had commenced to build "a large, handsome house, with orchards and gardens suitable," which has ever since borne the name of Gosforth Hall.

He had four children—Ann, married to John Ponsonby, of Hale Hall, Esq.; Barbara, John, and William. Barbara I had the pleasure of identifying for our President as the "B.C." so tenderly referred to in the "Diary of Bishop Nicolson," and it was perhaps partly on her account that during the happier days of the unsuccessful courtship he once or twice refers to the parish as "Godsforth." John Copley, attorney-at-law, married in 1684 Beatrix, widow of Samuel Sandys, of Graithwaite, and daughter of Daniel Nicholson, of Hawkshead, by which marriage he became possessed of Hawkshead Hall, where he lived and died.

Mr. John F. Curwen points out, from Darcy Curwen's journal, that "Mr Robert Copley was buried ye 16th of August, 1675," no doubt at Gosforth; but the years 1674-77 are missing from the register. His wife Isabel was buried there ten years later.

1685, June 24.—Isabella Copley, of Gosforth, gentlewoman, was buried in linnen; a fine was payed by her administrators, according to law, for being buried in linnen.

* Curwen MSS.
† Gosforth Register.

William Copley succeeded to Gosforth Hall, and married 17th October, 1685, only four months after his mother's death, a lady whom Darcy Curwen calls "Coson Isabell Copley," probably a Stanley or a Curwen. By her he had Robert, born August 3rd, 1636, and Stanley, born August 10th, 1687, after which the poor mother "dyed in childbed the 9th day of September, 1687, and (was buried in Pon) sonby Church."

Apparently the baby did not long survive her, but this was not the end of William Copley's misfortunes. About 1692 he left Gosforth Hall, and in 1708 mortgaged his lands in Gosforth to Jane Hudson, became a defaulter in 1712, and in 1723 was a prisoner for debt in Carlisle Gaol. By 1723 his son Stanley was dead, and Robert Copley, "only son and heir," then sold and confirmed Gosforth Hall to Anthony Benn, of Hensingham. In 1732 John Benn, gentleman, sold the Hall to James Steel, of Wray, Hensingham, gentleman. Five years later, in 1738, James Steel, "of Hollins, St. Bees," sold it to Isaac Powle, of Blackhow, Gosforth,* yeoman. At this point we must return to Gosforth Gate.

In 1688 Christopher Denton, B.A., of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was presented to the rectory of Gosforth, at the early age of 21, by the last John Senhouse, of Seascale. He was the son of the Rev. Thomas Denton, rector of Crosby Garrett, and is said to have been one of the first resident clergymen in this district who had received a University education. Although he was 50 years rector, his name is not given in some of the county histories, and is wrongly dated in others.

Some 56 years before this event, in 1628, John and Margaret Shearwen had cleared away the old tenement called Gosforth Gate, and reared the mansion which still stands there in picturesque decay, and on which their names are easily to be read. The owners of such a house

* Gosforth Hall deeds.

GOSFORTH GATE

Photo. by Miss A. E. Brickhill. (Now known as Denton Hall). TO FACE P. 230.

must have been well to do. They had two sons, John and William. John, the eldest, "born and baptised 13th March, 1635," succeeded to Gosforth Gate, and had four sons and two daughters. The sons all died young, the eldest last of all.

1683. October 15, John, son of Mr. J. Sherwen, was buried in linnen. His father paid a fine, according to the late law, for burying in woollen.*

Mrs. Copley and John Sherwen are the only two instances of burial in linen that occur in the Gosforth Register. The fine was a heavy one, and we may well believe this special honour was prompted by the father's grief and affection. The two girls were left co-heiresses. Margaret married in 1687 Anthony Benn, of Hensingham, and to Isabel the rector came a-wooing.

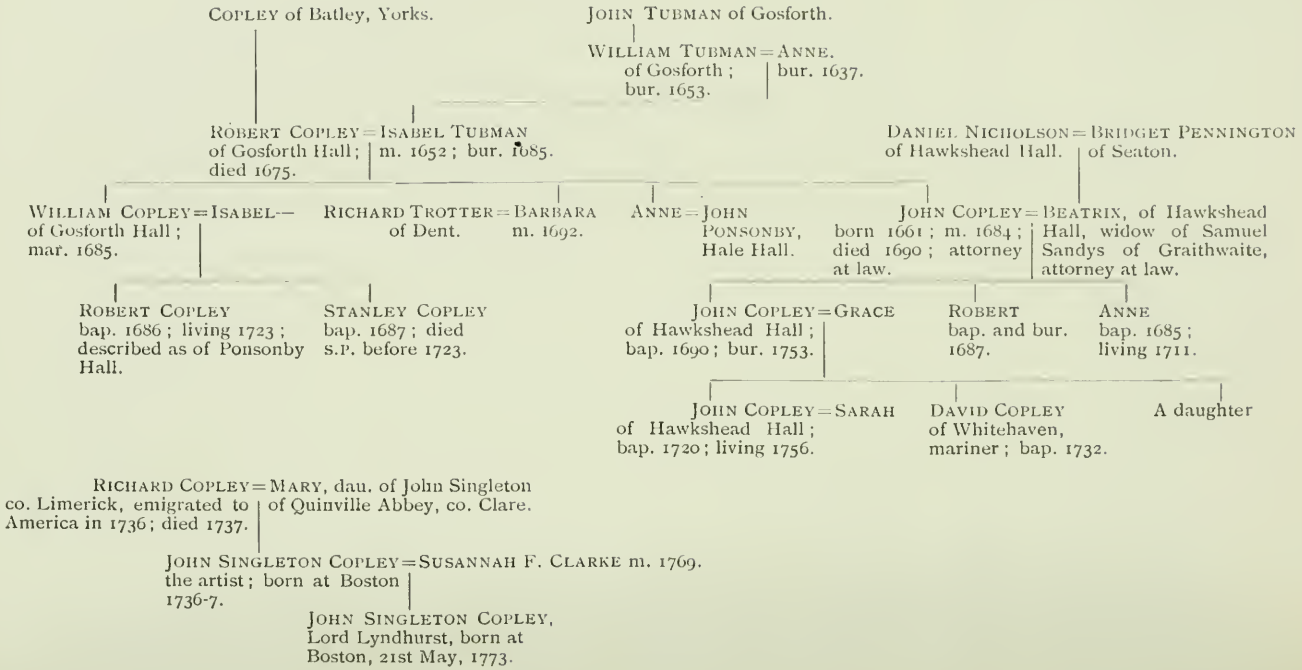
Christo. Denton, Rector, and Mrs. Isabel Sherwen, marryed in ye Parish Church of Gosforth, the 21st January, Anno Dni, 1696-7.

By this marriage Christopher got Gosforth Gate and good lands, and instead of taking his wife home went home with her, for it was a better house than the Rectory. He enjoyed this good fortune for forty-two years, the old name was forgotten, and the house is to this day called after him—Denton Hill. Of their five children, Thomas, the only son, is said to have died at college; Katharine married John Steele, and Margratt married John Benson, both men of Egremont; Elizabeth died unmarried.*

Isabel, the third daughter, had a slice of the worldly wisdom of her father, and was forty years of age when she married "Thomas Poole, of Egremont, gentleman," brother to the childless Isaac and Sarah Poole, of Gosforth Hall. Thirty-two years later Thomas succeeded his brother and Isabel reigned at the Hall, as her father had done at Denton Hill. She lived to be 95, and must have

* Gosforth Register.

COPLEY OF GOSFORTH HALL.



been a grand old lady. Isabel, however, only reigned conditionally, as Isaac left several rooms in the house to his widow. (See Part II.) Thomas Poole's heirs sold Gosforth Hall to John Sharpe, of Sellafield, yeoman, who in 1804 sold it to Samuel Rogers the younger, of Kirkland, Irton, yeoman. He left it to his wife Elizabeth in 1819, and her heirs sold it to Rear-Admiral Francis Scott, of Harecroft, Gosforth. Admiral Scott's widow sold it in 1877 to Mr. John Tyson, of Hazel Bank, Gosforth, who sold it to the present possessor, J. S. Ainsworth, Esq., of Harecroft.

Mr. J. S. Ainsworth drew my attention to the fact that the name of Lord Lyndhurst, Chancellor of England, was John Singleton Copley, and suggested that he might be descended from the Gosforth Hall family. Since then we have tried hard to make out the connection, but we can add nothing to the statement of Lord Campbell in his *Lives of the Chancellors* (kindly communicated by Canon Bower and J. S. Ainsworth) that Richard Copley's pedigree is unknown.

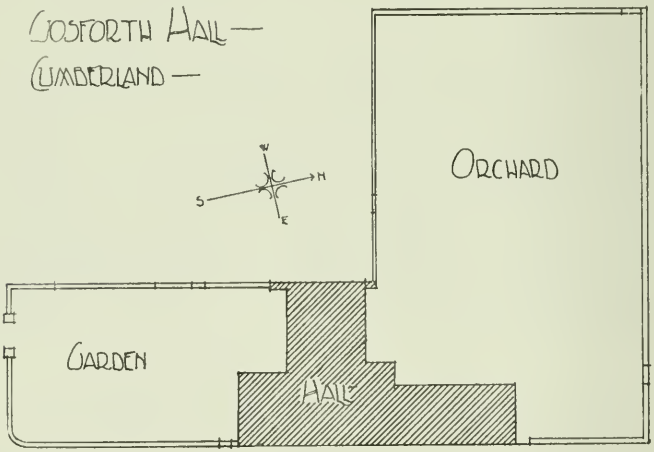
Part II.—Descriptive. By J. F. Curwen.

All that we can learn about the hall from the various histories of Cumberland is a fact which each historian seems to have borrowed in turn from Thomas Denton's manuscript—viz., that Robert Copley, who was steward to Joseph Pennington's little son William (baptised at Muncaster, 1655) during the seventeen years of his minority, and also chief bailiff of Copeland Forest under the Earl of Northumberland, purchased part of the manor of Gosforth, and "built a large handsome house, with orchards and gardens suitable."

There is to-day, built into the wall of an outbuilding, an old red sandstone door lintel, which bears in raised letters the initials "R.C.," with the date 1658. In every particular, we find in this hall an interesting example of

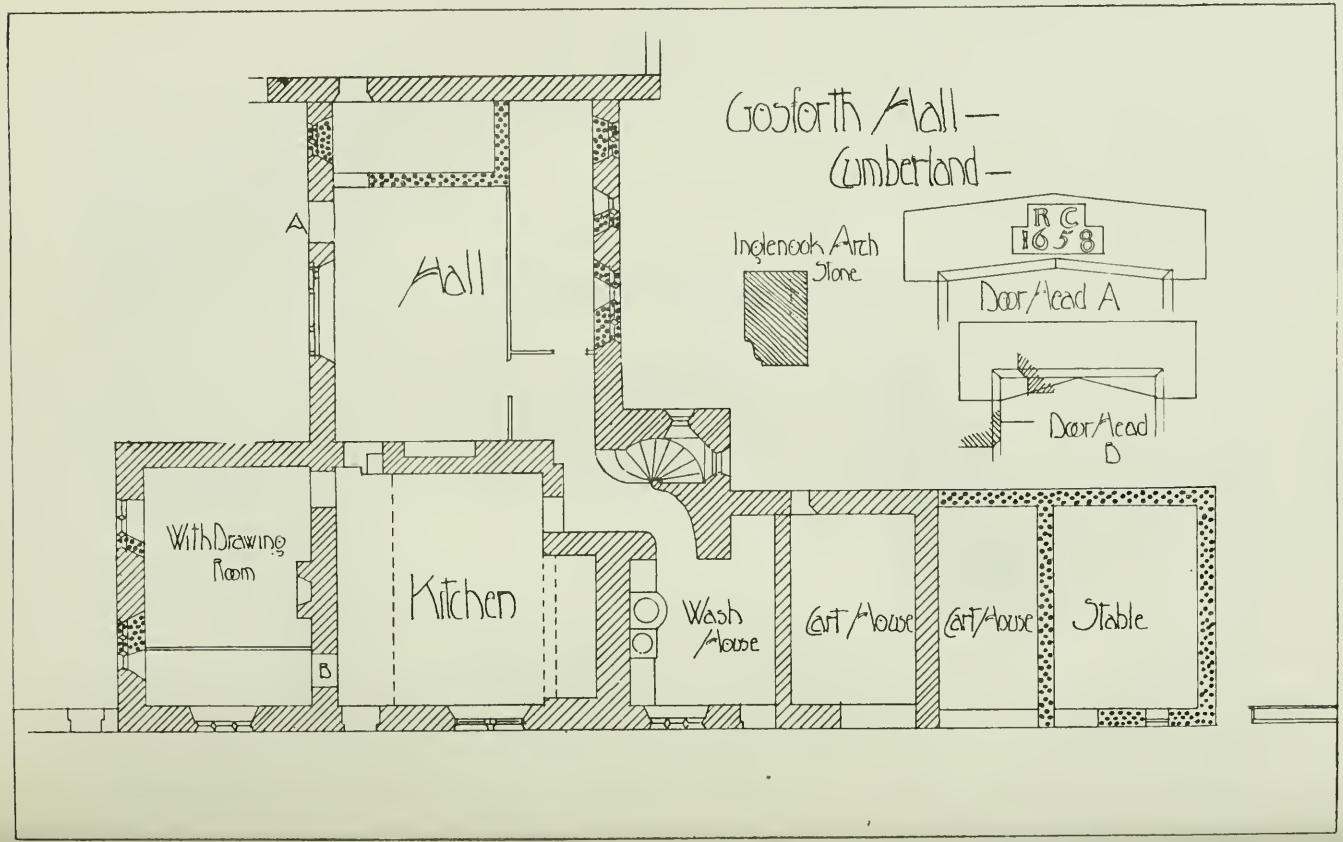
a seventeenth-century building, and such a one as a prosperous man would have built for himself.

Leaving the road opposite the church, you enter the small garden between two most refined Early Renaissance gateposts, which at once speak of the former elegance of the building. But, unfortunately, no sooner than you are within the gates, facing the southern wall of the hall, you are brought face to face with the ruthless spirit of

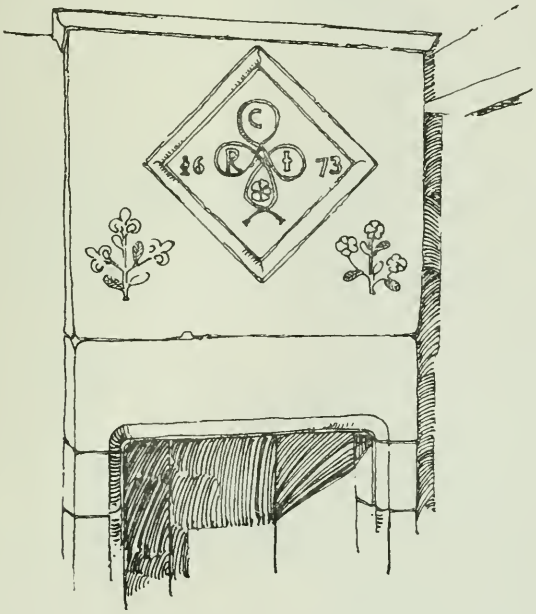


improvement of the nineteenth century. It is true that the delightful string courses still remain, for they being guileless could do no one any harm; but the old Tudor-arched doorway, with its initialed headstone, perhaps by being considered too low, has made way for an ordinary villa door; the broad four-lighted mullion window has been converted into a treble sash, whilst the two-lighted dais window on the left-hand side of the door has been blocked up altogether, with many another on the floors above.

Passing over the threshwood you enter the hall, a spacious compartment measuring internally 28 feet by 22 feet. Here again, on the northern wall, the two-lighted


Gosforth Hall —
Cumberland —
Inglenook Arch Stone
R C
1658
Door Head A
Door Head D
A
Hall
With Drawing Room
Kitchen
B
Wash House
Cart House
Cart House
Stable

dais window has been completely blocked up, the two-lighted window opposite the entrance partially blocked up, and the broad four-lighted window, corresponding to the one on the southern wall, has been blocked all but one small opening. For when the yeomen left the hall to become occupied by a tenant farmer, such a chamber became too great for him ; it had to be sub-divided, and these three beautiful windows of eight lights became too much for his new partitioned-off dairy. There is nothing in the way of oak pannelling left to tell us of the fitments of the room.



Passing out from this room there was doubtless at one time a "mell door" in the southern corner of the eastern wall leading into the "heck," partitioned off from the kitchen. By way of this passage entrance would be gained through a delightful red sandstone doorway, now existing,

into the withdrawing room, a comfortable apartment measuring internally 20 feet by 14 feet. This room originally had a three-lighted mullion window facing east and two double-lighted windows facing south. No oak remains here either, but over the fireplace there is to be seen a plaster overmantel, upon which in raised letters are the initials—

C
R I

for Robert and Isabella Copley, and a rose within the four coils of a knot, with the date 1673. The whole is surrounded by a diamond-shaped moulding, having a spray of roses on the right and of lilies on the left hand. Dr. Parker points out that the reason why there is no coat-of-arms is that at Dugdale's Visitation in 1665, Robert Copley refused to pay the fee of 27s. demanded by the herald for the right to bear arms.

Passing again through the screens we come to the kitchen, with its ample fireplace and ingle nook 12 feet wide. A doorway from here leads out to the newel staircase, which is built out as a turret, and to the pantries beyond.

Upstairs there is little now left to comment upon, excepting the old fireplaces in the garrets and the fine specimens of massive oak roof principals very rudely "sett vpp and fframyd," and firmly pinned together by strong wooden pegs or trennels.

Externally, the two buttresses flanking the western wall of the hall are curious features and worthy of attention. On the ground level they have projected some 5 feet 2 inches, and then they seem to have been quickly weathered back to a projection of 3 feet, at which they run up to the roof without any further weatherings.

In 1723 the hall was sold by the Copleys, and in the year 1776 we find it occupied by one Isaac Pool, and the house described as being "much in decay." This Pool

Photo. by Miss A. E. Brickhill. ATTIC BEAMS—GOSFORTH HALL. TO FACE P. 238.

Photo. by Miss A. E. Brickhill. INGLE NOOK—GOSFORTH HALL. TO FACE P. 239.

made a will, dated 21st February, 1778, from which I abstract the following :—

In the name of God Amen. I Isaac Pool of Gosforth Hall . . . give unto my said wife Sarah Pool the little orchard on the West side of the Brewhouse, the dining room now divided into two rooms, the loft above the Kitchen, the Loft above the Parlour, half of the Brewhouse, the two furthest Garrets, one half of the Hall, a Mew-stead in the Barn and the Peat House at the East End of the said Barn, during my wife's widowhood and in lieu of her widow right. And also upon condition that she my said wife shall not set to farm or allow any to live in the above mentioned rooms excepting my brother Thomas Pool . . . all the rest and residue I give and bequeath unto my said brother Thomas Pool.

We are not told whether this brother was a married man or not, but if he was intended to take up his residence and live in the other half of the hall—say, on the other side of the fireplace—then he had at least a great inducement to ignore the prohibition to marry the deceased brother's wife.

ART. XV.—*Bewley Castle.* By the Rev. JAMES WILSON, M.A., and Sir EDMUND T. BEWLEY, M.A., LL.D.

Read at Penrith, August 28th, 1902.

PART I.—THE NAME OF THE BISHOP'S MANOR OF BEWLEY BEFORE 1300. By the Rev. J. WILSON.

ON the west of the river Eden, not far from Appleby, is situated the manor of Bewley, where the Bishops of Carlisle resided from time to time for a period of two centuries or more. The manor house was called "Bellus Locus" as early as 1250.* In the fifteenth century, Beaulieu, the French equivalent, was in general use; at a later period Bewley Castle was introduced, and is the name best known at the present day. Nothing has been added to the early history of the manor or the manor-house since Sir Daniel Fleming wrote in 1671 that "Buly-castle [was] so called from its being built by or belonging to John Buly [Builly or Buisli], whose daughter Idonea was married to Robert de Veteriponte, first Baron of Westmoreland. It doth now belong to the Bishop of Carlisle, enjoyed by Sr Chr. Musgrave as a lessee."† This account has been reproduced in the county histories,‡ and has been accepted with more or less diffidence by all the writers who have had occasion to refer to the place. Though Chancellor Ferguson accepted the "Buly" legend, and illustrated in connection with the manor

* Bishop Silvester de Everdon executed two deeds at Bellus Locus in 1250 with the following subscription:—"Datum apud Bellum locum in Westmeria die Jovis proximo ante festum sancti Georgij, anno domini millesimo cc^o^ quinquagesimo, Pontificatus nostri anno tercio."—*Cotton MS.*, Tiberius C. xii., ff. 326, 326*b*.

† *A Description of Westmorland in 1671*, p. 27, ed. Sir G. F. Duckett.

‡ *Nicolson and Burn*, i., 456; *Hodgson*, p. 144; *Whellan*, p. 805; Dr. Taylor, *Old Manorial Halls*, pp. 118-122.

house the seal and counter-seal of the John de Builli mentioned in the Fleming narrative, he added that "nothing was at present known of the history of Buley Castle, or how the See of Carlisle acquired it."* With equal hesitancy Archdeacon Prescott dealt with the story, wisely entering a caveat by way of warning that he had "found no real authority for the statement."† As Robert de Veteriponte had seisin of John de Builly's lands in 1213 in right of his wife Idonea, John's daughter and heir,‡ we have an approximate date for the alleged building and naming of Bewley Castle in compliment to his wife's family. If such a theory happened to become a well-established fact, it would be, perhaps, one of the most extraordinary incidents on record. But the improbability of the story is obvious. It is a pure guess without a shadow of foundation. John de Builly was a well-known Yorkshire baron, and had no property in Westmorland. There is no evidence that the manor of Bewley was ever in the possession of Robert de Veteriponte, not even as lord of the barony of Appleby; for it will be my endeavour to show that it belonged to the church of Carlisle long before Robert's day, and was therefore held in frankalmoin without any secular service whatever.

While Sir Edmund Bewley's book on *The Bewleys of Cumberland* was passing through the press, its distinguished author happened to call my attention to the improbable nature of the current theory. In his opinion, the early history of Bewley called for a critical review, in the hope that some historical evidence might be found to dispel the mystery which surrounded the place. In the course of correspondence, Sir Edmund threw out the suggestion "that it would have been quite natural for a

* These *Transactions*, viii., 413-15.
† *Register of Wetherhal*, pp. 62-3.
‡ *Close Roll*, 15 John, m. 5 (i., 136*b*, Record Commission).

Bishop of Carlisle to give the name of Beaulieu to one of the possessions of his See," as "Beaulieu was a favourite name for monastic and ecclesiastical possessions, and about 1264 the prior of Durham gave the name of Beaulieu to the manor-house of the convent in the parish of Billingham." Seeing that a similar process took place at my own door in the episcopal manor of Dalston, where the manor-house was called Rosa, la Rose, or the Rose from an early period, it occurred to me as not impossible that Bellus Locus, according to a peculiar usage in ecclesiastical nomenclature, which will be explained by Sir Edmund Bewley, might have been gradually applied to the manor as well as the manor-house, and might ultimately lead to the extinction of the original name. I venture to think I shall be able to prove that such a change did take place. My statement is that the original name of the manor was Fithnenin,* or one of its phonetic variants—a name which it retained in non-ecclesiastical documents till the close of the thirteenth century, when the adopted name of Bellus Locus, Beaulieu, or Bewley, came into general use for the Bishop's residential manor in Westmorland.

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* Mr. Collingwood, our Editor, writing to me on the etymology of Fithnenin, says:—"Now that you say the last syllable is pretty certain, I suggest as a possible explanation that *Fit-vynnin* means 'cultivated meadow (near water),' from Icelandic *Fit* (fem.), 'meadow (near water),' and from an old form of the passive participle feminine from *vinna*, to 'win or cultivate.' This does not quite give the 'e' in *venin*, but it suits the site fairly well, and gives a name which is in harmony with the farming origin of most place-names hereabouts. This seems much more likely than *nennin*, 'active, doing good work,' which is a a poetical word, the *Dictionary* says, though not impossible." Mr. Collingwood also points out such local place-names as Mint's *feet* (Kendal), Colwith feet, Fitz (Keswick and Cockermouth), and Fittes in Salkeld (*Reg. Wetherhal*, p. 373) in illustration of the first syllable of the name. Nobody who knows the paleographical difficulties of 'v' and 'n' will impugn the suggestion that the name may be read as *Fithvenin*. The editors of Dugdale (*Monasticon*, vi., 144) have printed "Fithvenni;" Chancellor Ferguson interpreted Todd's *Notitia* (p. 17) in the same form, but Todd got his reading from the first edition of Dugdale, and not from manuscript; the Record Commission, not an infallible authority, has adopted "Fytnenyn," "Fytenenyn," and "Fiteum" (*Placita de Q. W.*, p. 794; *Cal. Rot. Chart.*, pp. 119, 127). There can be no doubt that the final letters of the word are "in" or "yn," as will be seen from the name-form in Appendix, Nos. iv., v. My record agent in London agrees with me that the form I have followed in this article can be upheld, but Mr. Collingwood is well justified on etymological grounds in suggesting *Fithvenin*.

In order that there may be no mistake in my estimation of the evidence upon which the statement is based, it has been thought advisable to add the documents in an Appendix. In that case few words will be needed to show their relevance. The series of documents must tell its own tale. In the first place, we learn from a glance at the Ordnance map that the geographical situation of Bewley exactly corresponds with the territorial position of Fithnenin, as described in the grant made by Ucthred de Botelton with the consent of Adam his heir to the church of Carlisle—"Fithnenin, scilicet, terram que fuit in calumpnia inter Boolton et Colleby."* Had we no other evidence, the identity of the place under different names would be difficult to dispute. But the subsequent history of ecclesiastical property on this side of the river Eden will admit of no other alternative. The third part of the vill of Colebi was granted to the canons regular of Carlisle in 1198 by William de Colebi at the annual rent of a pair of spurs or six pence at the market of Carlisle.† This moiety of Colebi, together with Fithnenin, must have been allotted to the Bishop of Carlisle in the first great division of ecclesiastical property between the priory and the bishopric, which took place when Hugh de Beaulieu was Bishop. Though I cannot at present produce the schedules of the first division, there can be little doubt that such was the case, as Colebi and Fithnenin are often found among the Bishop's possessions in subsequent years; and, in fact, they constituted the only real property of value he possessed in Westmorland. Fithnenin, as we learn from Ucthred's charter, was an entire territorial unit, and in this respect was different from Colebi, of which only a portion was alienated to ecclesiastical uses —viz., one carucate and seven bovates, the extent of which was afterwards set out as the third part of the vill.‡

* Appendix I.
† Appendix II.
‡ Appendix III.

If we turn to the history of Fithnenin we meet with the manor on various occasions in possession of the Bishops of Carlisle. Though it was conceded to the church or priory at a date when there was no Bishop—let us say about 1170—yet after the division of the priory property, which took place at various dates (by a rough calculation) between 1220 and 1250, the lands of the church in question were eventually awarded to the bishopric. Nothing can be more certain than this hypothesis. In 1290 King Edward I. conceded to Bishop Ralf de Irton the right of free warren "in all the demesne lands at his manor of Fytenenyn in the county of Westmorland."* His successor, Bishop Halton, was summoned in 1292 to declare by what warrant he claimed free warren, gallows, goods of felons, and other feudal privileges "in his manor of Fytnenyn;" but, as the Bishop pleaded the King's charter mentioned above, his claim to warren was sustained, though his claim to the other privileges was disallowed.† Two years later—that is, in 1294—the same King granted to Bishop Halton "all the liberties which the said Bishop claimed to have in Fitnenin in the county of Westmorland."‡

But where is the identity of Fithnenin with Bellus Locus? Apart from the fact of the residence of the Bishops at the place with the latter name, we have an important link which makes the evidence complete and incontrovertible. About the time that proceedings were going on in the King's Courts with respect to the manorial privileges of Fithnenin, we happen to gain the required guidance from a rental of the possessions of the bishopric made by the custodians of the temporalities during the vacancy of the See after the death of Bishop Irton in 1292, in which the Westmorland estates are scheduled under the heads of Bellus Locus and

* Appendix IV.
† Appendix V.
‡ Appendix VI.

Colleby.* As the name of Fithnenin has not been found after 1300, I have not thought it necessary to add more documents to the Appendix, in which the episcopal manor is invariably described as Bellus Locus or Beaulieu, the title by which the manor-house or Bishop's residence had been previously known. But it may be taken that such was the designation in general use, as far as I have noticed, from the above-named date to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of Henry VIII.

That there might be no mistake about the conclusiveness of my contention, I submitted my notes, as well as the documents on which I relied, to the judgment of Sir Edmund Bewley, whose opinion as an expert on the value of evidence is so deserving of respect that I am emboldened to shelter under his high authority my own weakness in presenting the facts of the case. This is what he says:—"I think you have clearly established the identity of Fithnenin with what was subsequently known as the manor of Beaulieu or Bewley. The Crown grant of 22 Edward I., coupled with the accounts of the revenues of the See of Carlisle during the vacancy caused by the death of Bishop Irton, seem to me to put the matter beyond all doubt. The grant referred to shows that Fithnenin was still a portion of the temporalities of the See of Carlisle after the accession of Bishop Halton, but if Fithnenin was not the same as Bellus Locus it would necessarily have appeared in the accounts of the receipts and expenses during the vacancy of the See. Fithnenin walks off the scene, and Bellus Locus comes on, but it is only a change of dress. The successors of Bishop Halton could not have alienated Fithnenin. I do not think it is necessary to include in the appendix of documents any instrument relating to Bellus Locus or Beaulieu of later date than 1300."

In the case of Dalston, the ancient name of the manor was retained side by side with Rosa, the name of the

* Appendix VII.

manor-house, though in the usage of later centuries it is a debatable question whether the manor-house had not eclipsed the name of the manor and transferred the original name to the barony of Dalston of which the manor was a parcel, for the "manerium de Rosa" or the "manerium de Roos" is of constant occurrence in ecclesiastical writings. But there was no ancient parish of Fithnenin embracing the manor like that of Dalston to preserve the name in spite of the prevailing custom. It seems to have been a disputed piece of land claimed alike by the townships of Bolton and Colby. We can well understand the continuance of Fithnenin as the name of the manor in documents which record the dealings of the Bishops with the King and his Courts. The lawyers would have nothing to do with the fanciful names applied by ecclesiastical personages to their possessions. The place was called Fithnenin in the title-deeds of the See, and as a matter of course that would be the name recognised and preserved by the Courts. In purely local transactions, Bellus Locus would be adopted as the name more familiar to the Bishop's officers.

APPENDIX.

I.

Henricus, dei gratia, Rex Anglie et Dux Normannie et Aquitannie et comes Andegavie, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ministris et omnibus fidelibus suis francis et Anglis tocius Anglie, salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta mea confirmasse deo et ecclesie sancte Marie Kaerleolensis et canonicis ibidem deo seruientibus donacionem quam Rex Henricus avus meus fecit eis de piscaria una et molendino uno faciendo super pontem Hedene ubi voluerint in competenti loco super terram suam. Ita ut exclusa ex alia parte sit super terram meam. Concedo eciam eis et confirmo omnes donaciones que eis racionabiliter facte sunt vel fierent secundum testimonium cartarum donatorum.

Ex dono Regis Scocie unam carrugatam terre cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in Hachetwisel, illam, scilicet, quam pater Ailsi habuit et tenuit sicut carta ipsius Regis testatur.

Ex dono Waldevi filij Gospatrich. ecclesiam de Espatric cum carrugata terre et omnibus pertinenciis suis. Et unam mansuram iuxta ecclesiam sancti Cuthberti in Karleolo.

Ex dono eiusdem Waldevi ecclesiam de Crosseby cum carrugata terre et omnibus decimis et omnibus que ad illam ecclesiam pertinent usque ad aquam Alne et capellam sancti Nicholai supra mare, cum terra que circa capellam iacet et decimam Alletuscium.

Ex dono Alani filij Waldevi parvam Crosseby iuxta Scaddebothes sitam cum terris et herbagiis in planis et pascuis et aquis et omnibus predicte Crosseby iure pertinentibus et per easdem diuisas et tenuras per quas Willelmus filius Bald' tenuit.

Ex dono eiusdem Alani ecclesiam de Yreby in terris et decimis et omnibus rebus eidem ecclesie pertinentibus et sextam partem ville de Yreby, scilicet, Langethweit et Scalethweit et alios thweites qui pertinent ad Langethweit et totam tenuram Aldredi filij Gamel in terra et bosco et planis et pascuis.

Ex dono Waldevi filij Alani maiorem Crosseby cum omnibus pertinenciis suis quam eis divisit.*

Ex dono Randulfi de Lindeseia totam terram quam habuit predictus Randulfus in Artureth et totam terram suam de Loretuna cum molendino et cum omnibus pertinenciis eiusdam terre.

Ex dono Gospatrici filij Orm† ecclesiam de Caldebeth cum omnibus sibi adiacentibus et hospitalem domum de Caldebeth cum omnibus pertinenciis suis secundum quod carte eiusdem Gospatrici testantur.

Ex dono eiusdem Gospatrici totam terram quam Aculfus de eo tenuit iuxta fflemyngeby inter duas valles cum bosco et pastura et omnibus aliis rebus predicte ville pertinentibus.

Ex dono Radulfi Engainne et heredum eius totam Henricheby cum molendino et omnibus predicte ville pertinentibus et omnibus libertatibus secundum quod carta eius testatur.

Ex dono Willelmi Engainne quatuor salinas inter Burth et Drumbogh et medietatem terre sue de Scadebothes et medietatem redditus Alleccium et infra ciuitatem Kaerleoli mansuram unam quam Reginaldus faber de eo tenuit.

Ex dono Hugonis de Morevilla duas bovatas terre in Mebrunne scilicet triginta et duas acras in agro eiusdem ville et pratum ad capita suarum segetum et communem pasturam animalibus hominum suorum et quasdam domos cum croftis quas habuerunt in diebus Wallevi secundum testimonium carte ipsius Hugonis.

Ex dono Johannis de Morevilla et heredis sui dimidiam carrugatam terre in Crekestoc et quatuor acras apud Tympaurun.

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* This word is *divisit* in the manuscript, but it is apparently a clerical error for *dimisit*.

†Dugdale has read this word as "Crinan" to the bewilderment of many persons.

Ex dono Vcthredi et Ade heredis sui, fithuenin, scilicet, terram que fuit in calumpnia inter Boolton et Colleby et communem pasturam et omnia aisiamenta.

Ex dono Ranulfi filij Walteri unam carrugatam terre in Stainton cum duabus mansionibus quas Ivo filius Forni et Agnes uxor eius et Walterus pater eius in perpetuam elemosinam eis dederunt et totam terram illam quam tenent in Tympaurun de donacione Theobaldi de Dacre et illam terram quam Gilbertus Aculf et heredes sui eis dederunt de sua dominica mensa que pertinet ad Tympaurun et terram que fuit circa Burum Arthuri in Kaerlelol iuxta mansionem Canonicorum.

Ex dono Hugonis de Morevilla terram illam quam Halth le Malchael et Eva uxor eius dederunt illis in elemosinam apud Crachethorp iuxta ripam de Trutebeth, scilicet, quindecim acras et pratum de terra Crakethorp in Elrether super ripas de Hedene et de Trutebeth ubi sunt predicte aque.

Ex dono Umfridi Malchael totam terciam partem ecclesie de Louther sicut carta eius testatur.

Ex dono Ade Aculf terram illam totam quam tenuerunt Canonici in Tympauron de donacione Theobaldi avi sui et illam terram quam pater suus Gilbertus et mater sua Gerild eis dederunt de dominica mensa sua.

Ex dono Roberti de Vauls unam carrugatam terre de dominio suo in Hatton et comunem pasturam et alia aisiamenta sua communiter cum hominibus suis in eadem villa quanta ad unam carrugatam terre pertinuerint.

Ex dono eiusdem Roberti ecclesiam de Hettona cum omnibus pertinenciis suis secundum quod carta eius testatur.

Ex dono Willelmi Decani de Kaerleolo terram illam extra murum quam eis dedit scilicet tres acras et mansuram unam infra murum Kaerleoli.

Ex dono Ade filij Vcthredi duas bovatas terre in Talentyr.

Quare volo et firmiter precipio quod predicta ecclesia Kaerleolensis et Canonici in ea deo seruintes omnes predictas donaciones et alias, que eis racionabiliter facte sunt vel fierent, habeant et teneant bene et in pace, libere et quiete, integre et plenarie et honorifice, in ecclesiis et capellis et decimis et terris, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pascuis, in aquis et molendinis et stagnis, in viis et semitis, et in omnibus aliis locis et aliis rebus ad eos pertinentibus cum omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis sicut eis concessi et hac carta mea confirmavi. Testibus, Henrico Rege filio meo, H: Episcopo Dunelm. Johanne Decano Sarum. Galfrido, Nicholao, Rogero, capellanis, Willelmo filio Aldel, dapifero, Ranulfo de Glanvill, Hugone de Creissi, Reginaldo de Luci, Willelmo malo vicino,

Roberto de Stutevill, Willelmo de Stutevill, Thoma Bardulf, Gerardo de Canvilla, apud Notingeham."*

II.

Canonici Regulares Sancte Marie de Carduil [reddunt compotum de] dimidia marca ut scribatur in magno Rotulo quod Willelmus de Colebi recognouit coram Baronibus de Scaccario quod dedit et concessit eis unam Carrucatam terre in Colebi que jacet juxta terram Ade filii Roberti, et sex Bovatas, duas scilicet Bovatas Ade filii Roberti, et alias duas Bovatas Willelmi filii Elwini, tercias duas Bovatas Alani filii Roberti, septimam Bovatam vctredi, et terciam partem Molendini predicte ville, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime sue et antecessorum et successorum suorum, liberam et quietam ab omni seruitio seculari et exactione. In pratis, in pascuis et aliis aisiamentis, libertatibus et pertinentiis, faciendo seruitium Regis, scilicet, terciam partem dimidie marce: reddendo annuatim ei vel heredibus suis duo calcaria ad Nundinas Carleoli vel sex denarios.†

III.

[Jurati] dicunt etiam quod villa de Kollebi est escaeta Domini Regis per mortem Willelmi Britoni pro defectu heredis unde canonici de Carduil tenent tertiam partem ex dono predicti Willelmi et uxor ipsius Willelmi tertiam partem in dotem et tertia pars est in manu Regis sed nesciunt quantum valet terra.‡

* Dugdale's text of this very important charter, taken from the Patent Roll of 22 Richard II. (*Monasticon*, vi., 144), is corrupt in several particulars and wants the testing clauses. The text given above is embodied by *Inspeximus* in an original charter of 6 Edward III., now in the writer's custody. It has an impression of the broad seal in green wax, attached with tags of white and green silk. From the witnesses it will be seen that the date of the confirmation by Henry II. lies between 1170, when young Henry, the King's son, was crowned (*Hoveden*, ii., 4-5), and December 14th, 1175, when John, dean of Salisbury, was consecrated Bishop of Norwich (Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. 49, new ed.). As the King was at Nottingham in the first week in August, 1175 (*Benedict Abbas*, i., 94), that is probably the date of the charter here given. The official description of this charter is *Charter Roll*, 6 Edw. iii., pt. i., No. 30, but the enrolment is not so full as the original. The grant of Fithnenin to the church of Carlisle by Ucthred, known elsewhere as Ucthred de Botelton, must have taken place some years before 1175.

† The date of this payment by the canons of Carlisle is 1197 or 1198, and the extract is taken from the Pipe Roll of 9 Richard i. (*Pipe Rolls of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham*, p. 180, ed. J. Hodgson Hinde). This William de Colebi was also a benefactor of the monks of Wetheral, whereon Archdeacon Prescott has written an interesting note (*Register of Wetherhal*, p. 392). Adam, son of Uctred de Botelton, was a witness to William's charter.

‡ The *Coram Rege* Roll, from which the record of this plea is taken, is usually ascribed to 11 John or 1209-10, but more recent study dates it in 2 John or 1200-1201. The Record Commission has espoused the later date (*Abbreviatio Placitorum*, p. 67*a*).

IV.

℞ Archiep̃is ⁊ c̃ salt̃m. Sciatis nos concessisse ⁊ hac carta ñra confirmasse ven̄abili p̃ri Rađo Karlioleñ Ep̃o, q̃d ip̃e ⁊ successores sui Ep̃i Karlioleñ imꝑpetuū ħeant liƀam warennam in õibȝ đnicis ꝑris suis apud Man̄ia sua de Dalstoñ ⁊ Lynstokꝭ in Com̃ Cumƀ. et in õibȝ đnicis ꝑris suis apud Man̄iū suū de Fytenenyn in Com̃ Westm̃ł. et in õibȝ đnicis ꝑris suis apud Man̄iū suū de Horncastr̃ in Com̃ Linc̃. Dum tamen ꝑre ille nō sint infra metas foreste ñre. Ita q̃d nullus intret ꝑras illas ad fugand̄ in eis ũl ad aliquid capiend̄, quod ad warennam ꝑtineat sine licēcia ⁊ voluntate ip̃ius Ep̃i ũl successoꝝ suoꝝ sup̄ forisfc̃uram ñram decem libraꝝ. Quare volum⁹ ⁊ firmiꝑ p̄cipim⁹ ꝑ noƀ ⁊ ħedibȝ ñris, q̃d p̄dc̃us Ep̃us & successores sui imꝑpetuū ħeant liƀam warennam in õibȝ đnicis ꝑris suis p̄dc̃is. Dum tamen ⁊ c̃ sicut p̄dc̃m est. Hiis testibȝ ven̄abilibȝ p̃ribȝ. J. Wyntoñ R. Bathoñ ⁊ Welleñ Cancellario ñro ⁊ A. Dunolmeñ Ep̃is. Wilł̄o de Valenc̃ auunc̃lo ñro. Edmundo Com̃ Cornubie Cons̃ ñro. Gilƀto de Clare Com̃ Glouc̃ ⁊ Hertford̄. Henrico de Lacy Com̃ Linc̃. Ottone de Grandisono. Roƀto de Tibotot ⁊ aliis.

Dat̃ apud Westm̃. xx. die Iuñ.*

V.

Episcopus Karliolensis summonitus fuit ad respondendum domino Regi quo warranto clamat habere liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis in manerio suo de Fytnenyn, weyf, infangenethef, utfangenethef, furcas, catalla fugitivorum et dampnatorum et aliorum felonum hominum suorum et esse quietus de communibus finibus et amerciamentis comitatus et sectis comitatuum et wapentachiarum pro se et hominibus suis de manerio predicto. Et quod homines sui de manerio predicto non ponantur coram Justiciariis domini Regis in assisis juratis et recognicionibus in comitatu predicto et habere amerciamenta sua et hominum suorum in quibus cunque curiis Regis fuerint amerciati. Et quod ipse et homines sui de manerio predicto quieti sint de eschapio latronum . . . . pro diss' . . . . adjudicatis, theolonio, passagio, pontagio,

* *Charter Roll*, 18 Edw. i., No. 39.

lestagio, stallagio, conductu thesauri domini Regis et reparacione poncium, domorum, murorum, fossatorum, calcetorum, vivariorum, stagnorum, clausura pareorum et operacionibus castellorum. Et quod nullus Vicecomes, Constabularius vel alius Ballivus domini Regis ingrediatur feoda sua de manerio predicto ad summonenda attachiamenta et districciones faciendas. Et quo waranto clamat habere emendas assise panis et cervisie fracte in manerio predicto que ad coronam et dignitatem domini Regis pertinent sine licencia et voluntate ipsius domini Regis et progenitorum suorum Regum Anglie etc.

Et Episcopus per attornatum suum venit. Et clamat warennam sicut in brevi continetur per cartam domini Regis nunc datam anno regni suo decimo octavo per quam concessit et confirmavit Radulfo Karliolensi Episcopo predecessori istius Episcopi quod ipse et successores sui imperpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis apud manerium suum de Hornecastre in comitatu Lincolnensi dum tamen terre ille non sint infra metas foreste domini Regis etc. Clamat eciam habere weyf, catalla fugitivorum et dampnatorum et aliorum felonum hominum suorum et omnes alias libertates sicut in brevi continetur preterquam infangenthef, utfangenethef, furcas, et emendas assise panis et cervisie fracte per cartam domini Henrici Regis patris domini Regis nunc datam anno regni sui quinquagesimo quinto per quam confirmavit aliam cartam suam datam anno regni sui quintodecimo per quam priorem cartam concessit cuidam Waltero quondam Episcopo Karliolensi et successoribus suis imperpetuum omnes predictas libertates simul cum aliis etc. Et tali waranto clamat ipse omnes predictas libertates etc. alias libertates ad presens non clamat etc.

Et Willelmus Inge qui sequitur pro domino Regi petit quod inquiratur qualiter predictus Episcopus usus est predictis libertatibus etc.

Jurati dicunt super sacramentum suum quod nec predictus Episcopus nec predecessores sui uncquam usi fuerunt predictis libertatibus quas predictus Episcopus modo clamat nisi warenna tam quousque jam duobus annis elapsis quod predecessoribus suis detulit Vicecomes hic quoddam breve quod ipse permitteret predictum Episcopum habere libertates suas juxta tenorem confirmacionis predicti Henrici Regis patris etc. Et quia in eadem confirmacione compertum est quod dominus Henricus Rex confirmavit predecessori predicti Episcopi predictas libertates suas adjunxit ista verba, sicut libertatibus illis racionabiliter usus fuerit, et per veredictum predicte jurate convictum est quod nec predictus Episcopus nec predecessores sui predicti predictis libertatibus racionabilitier usi sunt. Constitutum est quod predicte libertates capiantur in

manum domini Regis ad voluntatem ipsius domini Regis etc. Et Episcopus in misericordia pro falso clamio etc.*

VI.

Ꝑ Ioħe Ep̄o Karł.—℞ Archiep̄is ⁊ c̄ salt̄m. Sciatis q̄d cum nos in Curia ñra coram dilc̄is ⁊ fid̄ ñris Hugone de Cressingh^a^m ⁊ sociis suis Justic̄ ñris vltīo itin̄antib; in Com̄ Comberł. ꝑ consideracōm eiusdem Curie recupauim⁹ v̄sus ven̄abilē p̄rem Joħem Ep̄m Karłi, quatuor Mesuagia, quat̄ vigīti ⁊ duas acras t̄re, vnū molendinū ⁊ sexagīta ⁊ quindecī solidatas ⁊ vnā denaratam reddit⁹ cum ꝑtiñ in suburbio Karłi ⁊ Dalstoñ vt ius nr̄m. Nos ꝑ salute anime ñre ⁊ anime clare memorie Alianore quondam Regine Angł consortis ñre ⁊ animarum antecessoꝝ ⁊ heredū ñroꝝ, dedimus ⁊ cōcessim⁹ ⁊ hac carta ñra confirmavim⁹ ꝑ noƀ ⁊ heredib; ñris eidem Ep̄o ⁊ eccłie sue ƀe Marie Karłi om̄ia p̄dicta Mesuagia, t̄rā, Molendinū ⁊ redditū cum om̄ib; ꝑtiñ suis. Tenenda ⁊ ħenda eidem Ep̄o ⁊ successorib; suis Ep̄is Karłi ⁊ eccłie sue p̄dc̄e vt de ꝑtiñ Manerii sui de Dalstoñ cū om̄ibus liƀtatib; ad idem man̄ium spectantib;. Concessim⁹ eciam ⁊ reddidim⁹, ꝑ noƀ ⁊ heredib; ñris, p̄fato Ep̄o omnes liƀtates quas idem Ep̄us clamauit ħre in Fitnenin in Com̄ Westm̄land̄ ꝑ cartas ꝑgenitoꝝ ñroꝝ quondā Regū Angł ⁊ quas v̄sus eundē Ep̄m in Curia ñra coram p̄fatis Justiciar̄ ñris in Itin̄e suo in eodē Com̄ Westm̄ł ꝑ consid̄acōm eiusdem Curie similit̄ recupauim⁹. Ita q̄d idem Ep̄s ⁊ successores sui ep̄i dc̄i loci liƀtates illas ħeant, ⁊ eis vtantur ⁊ gaudeant imꝑpetuū. Q^a^re volum⁹ ⁊ firmit̄ p̄cipim⁹ ꝑ noƀ ⁊ ħedib; ñris q̄d p̄dc̄us Ep̄us ⁊ successores sui Ep̄i loci p̄dc̄i ħeant ⁊ teneant p̄dc̄a mesuagia, t̄ram, molendinū ⁊ redditum cū om̄ib; ꝑtiñ suis vt de ꝑtinenciis manerii p̄dc̄i cum omnib; liƀtatib; ad idem man̄ium spectantib; in liƀam ⁊ puram elemosinam et q̄d om̄es liƀtates predictas quas v̄sus p̄dc̄m

* *Placita de Quo Waranto*, p. 794, Record Commission. This plea should be compared with other pleas of the same date about the Cumberland property of the Bishop of Carlisle (*Ibid*, pp. 112-3, 124-5).

Ep̃m in Curia ñra coram p̃fatis Justiciariis ñris in itin̄e suo in Com̃ p̃dc̃o Westm̃ł recupauim⁹, ħeant ⁊ eis gaudeant ⁊ vtantur imppetuū sicut p̃dc̃m est. Hiis testibȝ ven̄abilibȝ p̃ribȝ. A. Dunelm̃. J. Wyntoñ ⁊ W. Bathoñ ⁊ Welł Ep̃s. Wilło de Valencia auunculo ñro, Henr̃ de Lacy Comite Linc̃, Walło de Bello Campo Senescallo Hospicii ñri, Gilbo de Thornetoñ. Joħe de Metingh^a^m, Roƀo de Hertford, Ric̃o de Bosco ⁊ aliis. Dat̃ ꝑ manū ℞ apud Westm̃, q̃nto die Decembr̃.*

VII.

Ep̃at⁹ Karlioł.—Compotus eoꝝdem Exec̃ de exitibȝ Ep̃atus Karłi sede vacante ꝑ mortem Rađi de Irretoñ quondam eiusdem loci Ep̃i a die Ven̄is ꝑx^a^ post festum sc̃i Mathie Ap̃li, anno ℞. ℞. E. xx° usqȝ xviii diem Junii ꝑx̃ seqñ anteq^ā^ lib̄ tempalia Ep̃atus predc̃i Joħi de Halgtoñ nūc eiusdem loci Ep̃o per br̃e ℞ patens.

Dalstoñ.—Iidem r̃ comp̃m de vj lĩ. xvij s̃. oƀ. q̃t̃. de redđ assĩo Baronie de Dalstoñ de t̃io Pasche. Et de Lx s̃. ꝑ xl acr̃ t̃re locatę seminanđ cum auena ꝑ idem tempus. Et de lvj s̃. iij đ. de xj skepp̃ j wyndel farine auene de exitu Molendīoꝝ de Dalstoñ ⁊ Nouo Molendīo ꝑ idem tempus sicut 9t^r^ in R° de ꝑtic̃lis quem lib̄ in Tħo. Et de xvij s̃. de iiij skepp̃ iij estr̃ Brasei de exitu p̃dc̃oꝝ Molendīoꝝ ꝑ idem tempus. Et de xv s̃. de fir^a^ molendinarioꝝ existenciū in dc̃is Molendinis ꝑ idem tempus. Et de xiiij s̃. de fir^a^ Molenđi de Cumƀdale ꝑ idem tempus. Et de Cv s̃. de Recognicõe tenenciū ibidem tempe seisīe ℞. Et de xxvij s̃. iiij đ. de finibȝ ⁊ płitę ⁊ ꝑquis̃ Cur̃ ibidem ꝑ idem tempus.

S^a^ xxj lĩ. xj. s̃. vij. đ. oƀ. q̃.—Sm^a^ Recepte xxj lĩ. xj s̃. vij đ. oƀ. q̃.

Lynstokę.—Idem r̃ 9pot̃ de viij s̃. xj đ. de redditu assĩo ibidem ꝑ idem tempus. Et de xiij s̃. vj đ. de redđ

* *Charter Roll*, 22 Edw. i., pt. ii., No. 35.

assĩo tenenc̃ Wilti de Karlĩo ⁊ Isab Relicte Stephi de Gartoñ in Crosseby iux[a] Lynstokę. Et de xv s. de piscar̃ aque de Edene p idem tempus. Et de xxxj s. de xxj acr̃ ꝛre de dnicę pos ad fir[a]m p idem tempus sicut 9t[r] in R° de ptičlis. Et de xxv s. v d. de vꝓ. skepp̃ j strakę farine auene de exitu Molendi de Broumskayt venditę p idem tempus. Et de xvj s. viij d. de iiij skepp̃ ij estr̃ Bras de exitu eiusdem Molendi venditę p idem tempus. Et de vj s. viij d. de recogñ tenenc̃ ibidem p idem tempus. Et de xiij s. iiij d. de ptitis ⁊ pquis Cur̃ ibidem p idem tempus.

S[a] vj lĩ. xs̃. vj d.—Sm[a] Recepte vj lĩ. x s. vj d.

Eskpatrikę ⁊ Ukmaneby.—Idem r̃ compot̃ de xliiij s. de redditu assĩo de Eskpat[i]kę ⁊ Uncmaneby p idem temp[o]. Et de xiij s. iiij d de xx acr̃ ꝛre de dnic̃ pos ad fir[a]m sicut 9t[r] in R° de ptičlis. Et de vj d. de Ouis de redd ibidem p idem tempus. Et de vj s. viij d. de recogñ tenenciū ibidem p idem tempus. Et de xvj d. de ptitis ⁊ pquis Cur̃ ibidem p idem tempus.

S[a] lxv s. x d.—Sm[a]. Recepte lxv s. x d.

Penreth.—Idem r̃ 9pot̃ de xvij s. de redd assĩo de Penreth p idem tempus. Et de xiij s. ij d. de dnicis affirm̃ ibidem p idem tempus, sicut 9t[r] in R° de ptičlis. Et de Cvj s. viij d de Lana de dec[a] ibidem vendit̃ p idem temp[o] sic̃ 9t[r] ibidem. Et de xlj s. iij d. de $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ .xix. agñ. de decima ibidem venditę sicut 9t[r] ibidem. Et de v s. de Recogñ tenenciū ibidem p idem tempus.

S[a] ix lĩ. iij s. j d.—Sm[a] Recepte ix lĩ. iij s. j d.

Bell[o] Loc[o] [Colleby *cancelled in MS.*].—Et de x s. de redd assĩo de Colleby ibidem p idem tempus. Et de xlij s. de dnic̃ pos ad fir[a]m[o] ibidem p idem tempus sicut 9t[r] ibidem. Et de iiij s. iij d. de ꝛcia pte Molendi ibidem p idem tempus. Et de v s. de Recogñ tenenciū ibidem p idem temp[o]. Et de ij s. vj d. de ptitis ⁊ pquis Cur̃ ibidem p idem tempus.

S[a] lxiij s. ix d.—Sm[a] Recepte lxiij s. ix d.

Sm^a tocius Recepte Ep̃atus p̃dc̃ı xliij lĩ. xiiij s̃. ix đ. oƀ q̊dr̃.

Mise.—Idem compuť in vadiis vni⁹ forestar̃ ⁊ vni⁹ ꝑcar̃ ⁊ vni⁹ s̃uientꝭ custodientis Maneriū de Dalstoñ ꝑ xv sept^a s̃ iij dies quoꝝ quiłt capit ꝑ diem j đ.—xviij s̃. Et in Reꝑacõe Molendīoꝝ ibidem ꝑ idem tempus iij s̃. vj đ. Et in vadiis vni⁹ hõis custodientꝭ Maneriū de Lynstokꝭ ꝑ idem tempus ij s̃. Et in reꝑacõe Molenđi eiusdem ꝑ idem tempus ix đ. Et in stipñ vni⁹ hõis custodientꝭ Maneriū de Eskpatrikꝭ ꝑ idem tempus ij s̃. Et in stipñ vni⁹ cłici colligentꝭ dec^a m Lane ⁊ agñ in ꝑochia de Penretħ ꝑ iij sept^a s̃, ij s̃. xi đ. õ. sicut ꝯt^r ibidem. Et in iij vlnis Caneuaci ꝑ lana inuoluend emptꝭ x đ. Et in stipñ vni⁹ s̃uienť custođ Man̄iū de Penretħ ꝑ idem tempus, ij s̃. Et in vadiis vni⁹ custođ Man̄iū de Bello Loco ꝑ idem tempus, x s̃.

Sm^a Misaꝝ xl s̃. xj đ—Et deƀ xlj lĩ. xiij s̃. xđ. q̊.

S^a xl s̃. xj đ.—Et r̃ intra.*

Part II.—How Bewley Castle acquired its Name. By Sir Edmund T. Bewley.

Mr. Wilson having clearly demonstrated that the lands on which Bewley Castle stood were originally

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* *Ministers' Accounts*, Bundle 1144, No. 13. The accounts of the custodian of the temporalities after the death of Bishop Kirkeby in 1352 may be summarised here. They are headed :—" Particule compoti Ricardi de Hoton custodis temporalium Episcopatus Karliolensis in Com. Cumbr. Westm'l et Northumbr. per mortem bone memorie Johannis de Kirkeby nuper Episcopi loci precedentis vacantis et in manu Regis existentis a xxiij die Novembris anno regni Regis predicti xxvj^o, quo die predictus Episcopus obiit, usque xxij^m diem Februarij tunc prox. seq. anno regni eiusdem Regis xxvij^o, quo die ipse dominus Rex per breve suum sub magno sigillo precepit prefato Ricardo quod fratri Johanni de Hornecastre clerico Karliolensi temporalia predicta in manu Regis et in custodia eiusdem Ricardi existencia liberaret, per iiij^xx . xi dies." The sources of revenue in "Cumberland" are then enumerated under the heads of "Manerium de Dalston," "Manerium de Lynstok," "Alta Crosseby," "Askpatrik," and "Penreth," with the particulars from each place. The schedule under "Westmorland" may be given in full :—" Bellus Locus. De redditibus et firmis ibidem non respondet eo quod nullus terminus solucionis inde per idem tempus accidebat. De firma molendini ibidem non respondet eo quod omnimodo decasus ante mortem predicti Episcopi. Et de iiij*s*. pro herbagio parci ibidem per tempus predictum. Et de xij*d*. de placitis et perquisitis unius curie tente ibidem infra tempus predictum. Summa, vs." The *compotus* ends with "Northumberland."—*Ministers' Accounts*, Bundle 1144, No. 14.

known as Fithnenin (or, perhaps, Fithvenin), it is now proposed to discuss the reasons that led to the disuse of the old name, and the adoption of the name of Bellus Locus, Beaulieu, or Bewley. The latter name—whether in its Latin, French, or English form—has almost invariably some monastic or ecclesiastical association, and the connection appears to have arisen originally from circumstances that were almost accidental.

To seek the origin of Beaulieu as a place-name we must travel a thousand miles from the valley of the Eden, and go back in time more than a thousand years.

In A.D. 855, when Aquitaine had still its own king and scarcely acknowledged the suzerainty of Charles the Bald, Rodulfe, Archbishop of Bourges, a son of the Comte de Turenne, founded an abbey in an obscure village of Limousin called Vellinus. The site of the new religious house was in his own domains, in a smiling valley, watered by the Dordogne; and from the beauty of its situation he gave it the name of Bellus Locus—"a fair place"—from which, after various intermediate forms, was ultimately derived the modern Beaulieu (*Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Beaulieu (en Limousin) par Maximin Deloche*, p. xiii.).

The abbey, which was placed under the Benedictine rule, was magnificently endowed by its founder as well as by the Counts of Turenne and neighbouring proprietors, and it received also various benefits and immunities from the sovereigns of Aquitaine. Numerous villages, châteaux, churches, chapels, and oratories came also through the largess of the faithful to increase the patrimony of the community. A number of secondary houses submitting to its rule were administered by monks delegated by the abbot, and ultimately took the name of priories. In the latter half of the tenth century the abbey had attained a very remarkable degree of prosperity, and its possessions extended over Le Bas Limousin (now the department of Corrèze), of which it held almost one-third, and the north

of Quercy (now the department of Lot). It is not surprising, therefore, that Sanctus Petrus de Bello Loco, or St. Pierre de Beaulieu (as the abbey was called), acquired a reputation and influence that extended far and wide.

From the ninth to the twelfth century many other religious houses were founded to which names connected with the nature of the sites were given—for example, Bonus Locus (*Bonlieu*), Clarus Locus (*Clairlieu*), Bellus Mons (*Belmont* and *Beaumont*), Clarus Mons (*Clermont*), Bellus Campus (*Beauchamp*), Bellus Pratus (*Beaupré*), Bella Vallis (*Beauval*), Bona Vallis (*Bonnevalle*), Clara Vallis (*Clairvaux*), Vallis Clausa (*Vaucluse*), Bonus Fons (*Bonnefontaine*), Clarus Fons (*Clairefontaine*), &c. (See *Gallia Christiana*, and *Table Chronologique des diplômes concernant l'histoire de la France, par MM. de Brequigny et Mouchet*, passim).

But though some of these names may be found connected with two or more monastic foundations, Bellus Locus obtained a vogue of quite an exceptional character.

It was specially favoured by the Benedictines, and afterwards by the Cistercians, when they were established as an offshoot of the Benedictine Order in the twelfth century; but in course of time it was adopted by other religious orders.

In 1007 Fulk Nerra, Count of Anjou, on his return from a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre, founded a monastery near Loches in Touraine which was named Bellus Locus, and placed under the Benedictine rule (Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, tome iv., p. 195). Sometime between 1026 and 1048 the Benedictine monastery at Waslogium in Argonne, about seven leagues from Verdun, which was a very ancient foundation, assumed the name of Bellus Locus (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome xiii., 1264); and about 1140 the priory of Bellus Locus (Beaulieu) of the Benedictine Order was founded in Bedfordshire as a cell to the monastery of St. Alban's (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. iii., p. 274).

In 1141 an abbey called Bellus Locus was founded by the Cistercians in the diocese of Rodez, in what is now the department of Aveyron (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome i., 267); in 1166 the monastery of Bellus Locus of the Cistercian Order was established near Langres, in the diocese of Macon, and department of Haute Marne (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome iv., 845); and in 1204 the abbey of Bellus Locus Regis (Beaulieu) was founded by King John in the New Forest in Hampshire, and was placed under the rule of the Cistercians (Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. v., p. 680).

In the beginning of the twelfth century Eustace, Lord of Fiennes, built the abbey of Bellus Locus near Ambletusa, in the diocese of Boulogne, for the Augustinian Order (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome x., 1614); and Augustinian monasteries bearing the name of Bellus Locus were established in 1124 at Le Mans, and about 1170 at Dinan in Brittany, in the diocese of St. Malo (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome xiv., 512, 1031).

There was also an Augustinian monastery called Bellus Locus in the diocese of Troyes, which about 1140 accepted the Præmonstratensian rule (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome xii., 614).

In 1200 a priory of regular canons called Bellus Locus was founded in the diocese of Rouen by John de Preaux (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome xi., 57); in 1224 the nunnery of St. Maria de Bello Loco near Douai, in the diocese of Arras, was placed under the rule of St. Augustine (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome iii., 448); and about the year 1250 the nunnery of Bellus Locus of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, in the diocese of Cahors, was constituted an abbey (*Gallia Christiana*, second edition, tome i., 194).

Various religious foundations bearing the name of Bellus Locus or Beaulieu existed also in Flanders and Hainault (*Table Chronologique des Chartes et Diplômes imprimés concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique*, tome ii., pp. 469, 662;

tome iii., pp. 374, 500, 609, 629; and tome vi., pp. 570, 571).

There was a priory of Beaulieu in the diocese of Lincoln in 1349 (*Calendar of Papal Registers* (Papal Letters), vol. iii., p. 326), and another priory of the same name in the county of Inverness in 1411 (*Calendar of Papal Registers* (Petitions), vol. i., pp. 596-7).

There are the remains of a monastic building—probably one of the Templars' houses—at a place called Bewley, in the parish of Kilmolash and county of Waterford (Charles Smith's *State of the County and City of Waterford*, p. 75; Archdale's *Monasticon Hibern.*, p. 685); and the parishes of Bewley, in the county of Kilkenny, and of Beaulieu, in the county of Louth, no doubt owe their names to some monastic houses that have long since since disappeared.

The above must not be taken as an attempt to give a complete enumeration of the several monastic foundations that bore the name of Bellus Locus or Beaulieu, but enough has been stated to show how widespread was the use of the name. In many cases the designation was appropriate to the site, but in other cases it was either used figuratively, or was adopted from the distinction or sanctity it had acquired from its association with great religious houses and influential monastic orders.

At times the name of Bellus Locus or Beaulieu was given to monastic or ecclesiastical possessions other than the sites of religious houses. In some cases it was attached to a manor or manor-house belonging to a religious foundation. Beaulieu in Worcestershire, within which the town now known as Bewdley stands, was at one time a manor belonging to the Benedictine priory of St. Mary's, Worcester (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward III., 1337-9, p. 194).

About the year 1264 Hugh de Derlington, prior of the Benedictine convent of Durham, erected a manor-house on the lands of the convent in the parish of Billingham and county of Durham, and gave it the name of Beaulieu

(*Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres: Robert de Graystanes*, Surtees Society's Publications, vol. ix., p. 46, and App., p. ccxcvi.). The name was extended to the lands attached to the manor-house, which thereafter were known as the manor of Bellus Locus or Beaulieu (*Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis*, Surtees Society's Publications, vol. lviii., pp. 44, 315; *Registrum Palatine Dunelmense*, vol. iv., pp. 16, 30, 38, 61).

Can there be any doubt, then, as to the monastic or ecclesiastical origin of the name Bellus Locus or Beaulieu as given to the manor-house on the lands of Fithnenin, and afterwards to the lands themselves? The Benedictine monastery of Waslogium in Argonne relinquished the name it had borne for five centuries or thereabouts, and adopted that of Bellus Locus; and we have already seen that Bellus Locus or Beaulieu was regarded as a suitable name for a manor or manor-house belonging to a religious foundation.

If the manor-house in question was built before 1218, the prior and canons of the Augustinian convent of St. Mary's, Carlisle, no doubt gave it the name of Bellus Locus or Beaulieu, as being one specially honoured by the Augustinians in the twelfth century.*

But there are circumstances that suggest that Bewley Castle was built during the episcopate of Hugh, the third Bishop of Carlisle. He was abbot of the monastery of Bellus Locus Regis (Beaulieu) in the New Forest at the time of his elevation to the See of Carlisle (*Annals of Waverley* [Rolls Ed.], p. 291; *Arundel MS.*, No. 17,

* In the Close Rolls of Henry III. (*Rot. Lit. Claus. in Turri Londin. Asser.*, vol. i., p. 375) a *Roger de Belloc'* is named in a document, apparently of the year 1217, addressed to the sheriffs of Northumberland, Westmorland, and Cumberland. If this was a Roger de Bello Loco he may possibly have occupied a somewhat similar position in respect to the possessions of the priory of St. Mary's, Carlisle, as that afterwards held by several members of the de Beaulieu family with regard to the northern manors of the Bishops of Carlisle; and the surname in that case would suggest that there was then either a manor or manor-house belonging to the convent to which the name of Bellus Locus had already become attached.

BEWLEY CASTLE.

Photo. by E. McDonald, Penrith.

TO FACE P. 260.

BEWLEY CASTLE,

Photo. by E. McDonald, Penrith.

TO FACE P. 261.

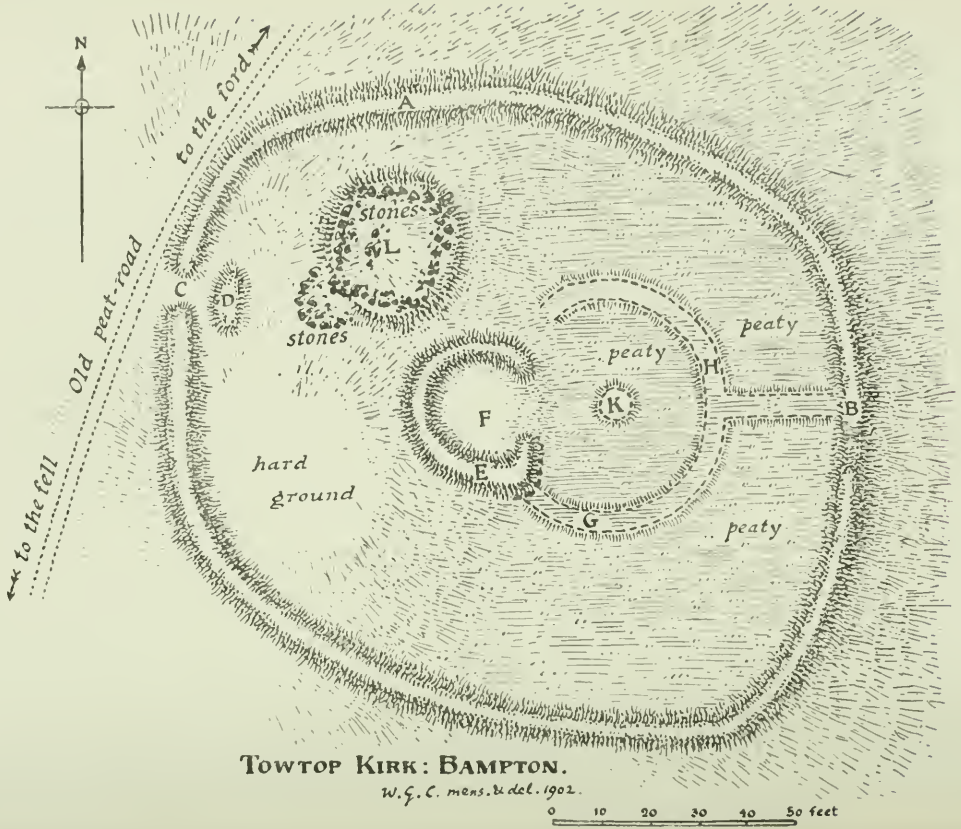
f. 53). He was consecrated on 24th January, 1218, and died at the abbey of Laferte in Burgundy in the year 1223, when returning from Rome. Dr. Michael Waistell Taylor, in his *Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland*—basing his opinion solely on architectural grounds—has been led by the character of one of the windows in the portion of Bewley Castle still standing, which shows traces of the first pointed style passing into the decorated era, to estimate the date of the structure as from 1230 to 1240. But in such matters dates cannot be fixed with absolute precision, and the building may have been either wholly or partially erected a few years earlier, in Bishop Hugh's time. The division of the possessions of the priory of St. Mary's, Carlisle, between the prior and convent on the one part and the Bishop of Carlisle on the other was begun and mainly carried out during his episcopate. That would naturally be the time when, amongst the lands allotted to the bishopric, a site would be chosen for the erection of a residence for the Bishops of Carlisle. May we not, then, reasonably conclude that Bellus Locus or Beaulieu became the name of the first residence of the bishops, because it was hallowed by its connection with the Cistercian and Augustinian Orders, and was specially endeared to Bishop Hugh from former associations ?

A few words should be said, perhaps, as to the change of Beaulieu to Bewley. The conversion of the first syllable "beau" into "bew" was not unnatural. The Latin "bene" became "bien" in French; and though "bellus" eventually settled down into "beau," the form "biau" was well known in provincial dialects. (See, for example, the language of Jacqueline and Lucas in Molière's *Le Medicin malgré lui*.) In several document of the fourteenth century relating to Hainault, "Beaulieu" is rendered as "Biauliu;" and from the *Feodarium Palatine Dunelmense* it appears that a family deriving its name from the manor of Beaulieu in the parish of Billingham and county of

Durham, already referred to, was sometimes called "de Bieulieu."

For some time the pronunciation of the second syllable seems to have been retained, and the forms Beulieu, Bewelewe, Beuleywe, Beulewe, Bewleugh, Beaulyeu, and others of a similar character appear. In the Ecclesiastical Survey of Henry VIII. (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vol v., p. 273), the lands attached to Bewley Castle appear amongst the temporalities of the See of Carlisle as "manerium de Bewlyeu;" but in recent times, even where in the United Kingdom the form Beaulieu has been retained, the pronunciation is always Bewley.

A mistaken notion as to the derivation of the name of Bewley Castle (for which, as pointed out by Mr. Wilson, Sir Daniel Fleming seems responsible) has led several writers to spell the name Builly or Buley; but it is hoped that Mr. Wilson's paper, with the present supplement to it, will be of some assistance in preventing the repetition of such errors in the future.



TOWTOP KIRK: BAMPTON.

W.G.C. mens. & del. 1902.

0 10 20 30 40 50 feet

ART. XVI.—*Towtop Kirk, Bampton.* By Miss NOBLE.

Read at Penrith, August 28th, 1902.

THE remains called Towtop Kirk have been known to antiquaries for some years, but probably little visited by them. Hodgson thus describes it in *Beauties of England and Wales:*—"In Codale is a place called the Old Church, octangular, forty yards in diameter, with a heap of stones in its centre, and formed by a slight vallum of stones and earth. It is a short distance from the hamlet called Carhullan." It seems curious that a native of the district like Hodgson should fall into the error of calling it the "Old Church," unless it may be that it was used as a place of meeting during the disturbed times of the Commonwealth, but this is pure conjecture. The late Chancellor Ferguson was of opinion that "*kirk*, a stone circle," was the correct appellation, though in the catalogue of the various antiquities of Cumberland and Westmorland compiled by him* he has, following Hodgson, listed it as "Bampton Old Church."

It is situated opposite Moorah Hill beyond the Con Beck, about twenty yards from the stream, across which there is a ford and rude stone bridge of unusual construction, probably for the convenience of those going to the peat fell, to the best part of which there is a road from here passing the circle. The hill side to the south is known as Towthwaite, and "Towtop" is the piece of ground—comparatively level, but sloping a little to the south-east—upon which Codale and Wildale converge. The outline of the circle is irregular, but certainly not octangular. On the west an opening has been made at some period, and

* *Archæologia*, vol. liii.

one of the peat cots, of which there are many in the neighbourhood, has evidently been built here. The stones of which it was built have mostly been carted away; sufficient remain to show they have no connection with the circle, but have been quarried or broken for walling at a comparatively recent period.

On July 25th, 1902, we made an examination of the remains, under the direction of Mr. W. G. Collingwood, with the following result :—

At A on the outer enclosure to the north was a layer of clay of the kind usually found beneath peat, about six inches or more deep and twelve feet wide; and on this stones were piled, forming a low bank, which, in the course of time that has elapsed since its construction, has covered itself with turf and soil to some depth, so that outwardly it differs but little from the surrounding moor. The stones used are cobbles gathered from the land or taken from the beck, and are for the most part only a little larger than paving stones. There has never been any attempt at a fence wall; it is merely a low bank, quite insufficient to keep persons or animals in or out, but such as might be useful to keep wolves or other predatory animals from scratching a way beneath a palisade fence, of which it probably formed the base. We dug for some distance along the crown of the mound to look for the remains of wooden posts, but without result.

At B there seemed to have been a causeway and opening, but digging showed no definite result. At C the appearance of an opening was distinct; the old track from the ford passes close by, and it is most likely it was made for the convenience of taking in the sledges laden with peat when the peat cot was in use, and that the low hillock D was thus formed by the débris. There were no large stones to form a gateway.

In the middle of the enclosure we found a hut circle with the door to the east and of a horse-shoe form, built exactly like the outer rampart, as the section at E showed

—that is, the bank was a mere mound of clay and cobbles. Inside at F the floor was paved with flat stones laid in clay; soot and small fragments of charcoal were found here in the joints of the stones.

The apparent cairn (K), the causeway (near B), and the inner circle (G, H)—or rampart as it seemed to be before digging—were trenched and proved to be merely banks of earth left when peat had been cut in the spaces between the hut circle and the eastern side of the enclosure. Possibly the clay may have been taken from here in making the circle, and, as is usual where peat has been dug, the hole would fill with water in which sphagnum and other mosses grow, gradually forming a new deposit of peat. We trenched the floor of the peat cot also (L), and found a similar pavement of stones here with much crumbled peat, so difficult to discriminate from charcoal. Mr. Collingwood inferred there might have been another hut circle here on which the peat-cot had been built. No pottery or implements of any kind were seen, and no sign of an interment; but on one of the stones lying between L and D was a rudely-cut cross, about an inch and a half in length, evidently ancient and artificial. It may have

INCISED MARKINGS ON A STONE AT TOWTOP KIRK.

been part of a standing stone broken up when the peat-cot was built, and has been set on the top of a small heap so that it may be recognised.

In Towtop Kirk we have a small example of the "British settlement," with rudely-circular rampart and hut circles. The site has been used later for storing peat, but the original structure is of whatever date can be given to the other examples of this type; and the circular burial mounds on Fourstones, about a mile distant, and at Winnyates are probably of the same date.

ART. XVII.—*The Burdetts of Bramcote and the Huttons of Penrith.* By GEORGE WATSON.

Communicated at Penrith, August 28th, 1902.

THE monuments in Penrith Church recorded in Bishop Nicolson's Visitation of Penrith in 1704,* as being in St. Andrew's Quire, the burial place of the Huttons of Penrith, are as follows:—

(a) Upon a brass plate [on the floor of the quire]:—

Here lyeth Mary, daughter of Thomas Wilson, Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, who was first marryed to Robert Burdett of Bramcourt in the Co. of Warwick, Esq., by whom she had Sir Thomas Burdett, Bart., and several sons and daughters; And afterwards was marryed to Sir Christopher Lowther of Lowther in the County of Westmorland, Kt. Her Daughter Elizabeth Burdett marryed to Anthony Hutton of Penrith, in the County of Cumberland, Esq., with whom she [Mary daur. of Thos. Wilson] lived, and dyed the last day of May. Anno Domini. 1622.

Entry in the Parish Registers:—

1622, June 1. Lady Marie Lowther Buried.

(b) On the North side of the Quire stands the fair Monument forementiond, erected and enclos'd with Iron Grates by consent of the Bishop; whereon, under the Pourtraictures of a Man and his wife in full proportion, are the two following Inscriptions. On the south:—

Here lyes interr'd Anthony Hutton, Esq., who was a Grave, faithful and judicious, Counsellor at Law, and one of the Masters of the High Court of Chancery: Son and Heir of that renowned Kt. Sir William Hutton of Penrith; and was matched into the Noble Family of Sir Thomas Burdett of Bramcourt in the County of Warwick, Baronet, by the marriage of his Vertuous Sister Elizabeth Burdett; whose pious Care and Religious Bounty hath erected this Marble Tomb to perpetuate the memory of such a worthy Commonwealthsman, and of so dear a Husband, who dyed the 10th of July. 1637.

* *Miscellany Accounts*, &c., ed. for this Society by Chancellor Ferguson (1877), p. 151.

On the north:—

Here lyes the Portraiture of Elizabeth Hutton, the wife of the late deceased Anthony Hutton; who, though liveing, desired thus to be placed in token of her Union with him, here interr'd, and of her own expected Mortality.

Maritus } Multa dilecta Conjux, Vita et morte
Uxori. } individua Comes, non amisisti quem praemisisti.
Uxor } Unica mea Cura sic Vivere. ut Tecum
Marito. } Christo fruar, et tuo lateri in aeternum sim conjunctior.

Bishop Nicolson does not record any monumental inscription giving the date of Mrs. Elizabeth Hutton's death, but the following entry in the Parish Registers doubtless supplies the information:—

1673, May 7. Elizabeth Hutton, gentlewoman, widow, buried.

(*c*) On a plain stone upon the floor about the middle of the quire:—

Here lyeth the Body of Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes, who dyed the 27th day of April in the 68th year of her age, Anno Domini 1684.

The entry in the Parish Registers of this burial is as follows:—

1684, April 29. Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes, buried in linen and £5 paid to the informant and the poor.

This was the penalty enforced for non-compliance with the "Burial in Woollen Act" then in operation.

None of the Hutton monuments mentioned by Bishop Nicolson were replaced in Penrith Church after it was rebuilt in 1720-22.

The pedigree opposite has been compiled with the kind assistance of J. J. Howard, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., Maltravers Herald, College of Arms.

1. ROBERT BURDETT, of Bramcote, co. Warwick; died 27th March, 1603; buried at Seckington, co. Warwick, M.I. = MARY, dau. of Rev. Thomas Wilson, D.D., Dean of Durham and Secretary of State to Queen Elizabeth, married afterwards to Sir Christor. Lowther of Lowther, co. Westmorland, after whose decease she lived with her dau. Elizabeth, wife of Mr. Anthony Hutton, of Hutton Hall, Penrith, where she died and was buried in St. Andrew's Choir, June 1st, 1622. [See extract (*a*) from Bishop Nicolson's Visitation.]

2. THOMAS BURDETT, created Baronet 25th Feb., 1618; born 3rd August, 1585. = JANE, dau. and heir of Wm. Fraun-cys. of Foremark, Derbyshire.

ELIZABETH, wife of Mr. Anthony Hutton, of Hutton Hall, Penrith; marr. at Lowther, Feb. 9th, 1613; buried in St. Andrew's Choir of Penrith Church. [See extract (*b*) Bishop Nicolson's visitation.]

LETTICE, wife of Richard Skelton, Esq. of Armathwaite, Cumberland; married at Penrith Church, June 9th, 1623.

BRIDGET, wife of Wm. Whelpdale, of Penrith. Her six children were baptised at Penrith Church. She was buried at Penrith, Nov. 28th, 1636.

ANNIE, wife of John Bowes, of Elford, co. Stafford. It was in all probability their dau. Elizabeth who, according to Bishop Nicolson, was buried in St. Andrew's Choir of Penrith Church. [See extract (*c*) Bishop Nicolson's visitation.]

3. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, born 10th Sept., 1608; died 30th Dec., 1696, aged 89. = ELIZABETH, dau. of Sir John Walter, Knt. of Sarsden, co. Oxford, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. She died 17th April, 1701.

4. SIR ROBERT BURDETT, born 11th Jan., 1640; died 18th Jan., 1716, aged 76. = 1st wife MARY, dau. of Gervase Pigot, of Thrumpton, co. Notts.
= 2nd wife MAGDALEN, dau. of Sir Tho. Aston, of Aston, Cheshire.
3rd wife MARY, dau. of Thos. Brome, of Croxall, co. Derby, died s.p.

5. ROBERT BURDETT, born 25th June, 1680; died 7th Jan., 1715-16, eleven days before his father, so was not a Baronet. = ELIZABETH, dau. of Wm. Lord Viscount Tracy.

6. SIR ROBERT BURDETT, succeeded his grandfather as Baronet; born 28th May, 1716; died 1797. = ELIZABETH, only dau. of Sir Charles Sedley, marr. in Nov. 1739.

7. FRANCIS BURDETT, died before his father, on 3rd Feb., 1794. = ELEANOR, dau. and co-heir of Wm. Jones, of Ramsbury, Wilts.

8. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, succeeded his grandfather as Baronet; born 27th Jan., 1770; marr. 5th Aug., 1793; died 31st Jan., 1844. = SOPHIA, third and youngest dau. and co-heir of Thos. Coutts, of London, banker.

9. ANGELA GEORGINA, BARONESS BURDETT COUTTS, youngest dau. of Sir Francis.

ART. XVIII.—*The Redmans of Levens.* By W. GREENWOOD.

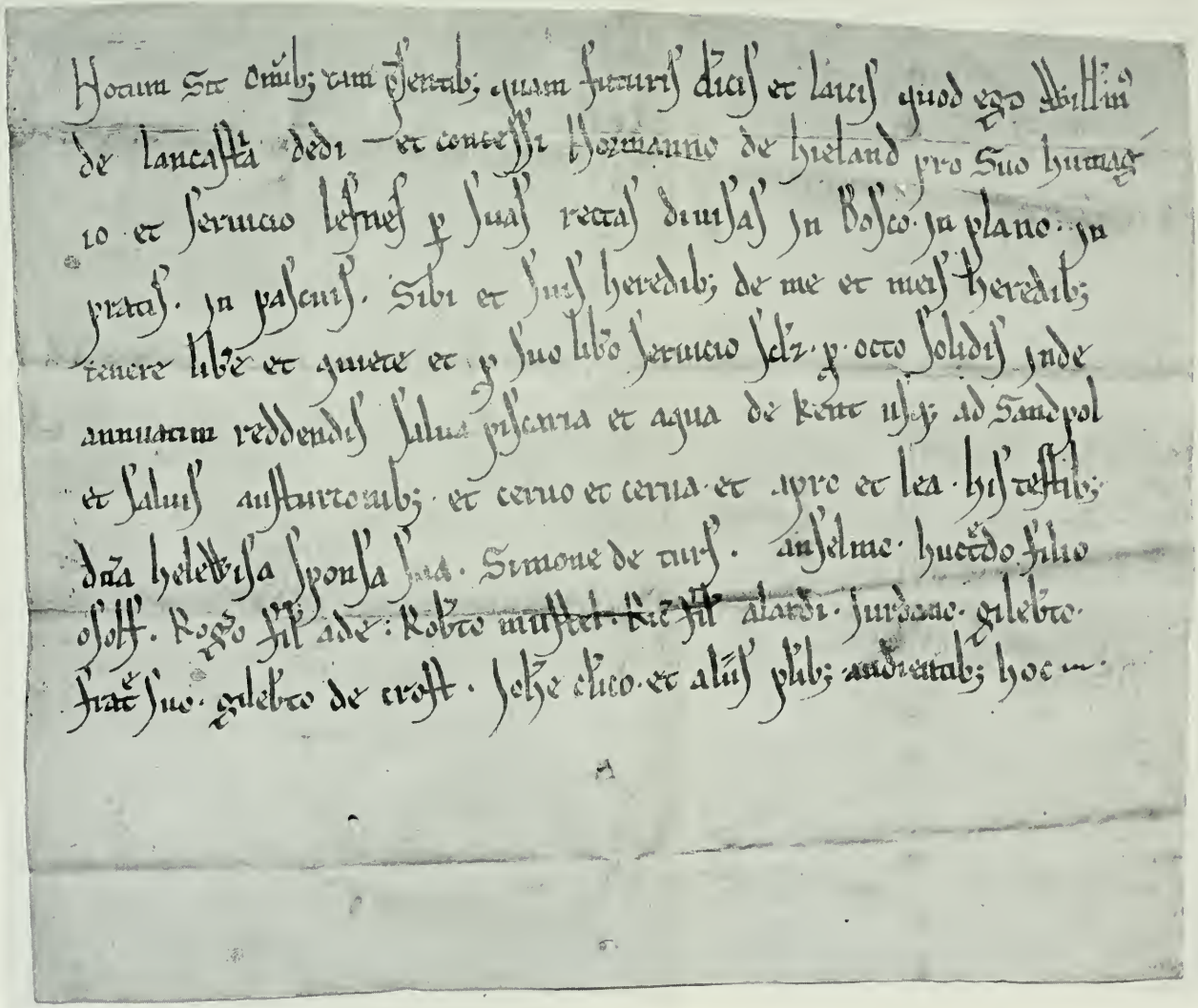
Communicated at Penrith, August 28th, 1902.

AMONG the ancient families whose names are intimately associated with the history of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland few, perhaps, have records more interesting than the Redmans of Redman and Levens, who for at least five centuries maintained a high position among the families of England, by virtue of their great possessions and the distinguished services they rendered to their country as soldiers, statesmen, diplomatists, and churchmen.

The origin of the family has hitherto baffled the skill and ingenuity of every student of Redman history, and it is only through what may be considered a most fortunate accident that it is now possible to throw valuable light on it. The clue which has led to the solution of this perplexing puzzle is an ancient charter, preserved at Levens Hall, which escaped the notice of the Historic MSS. Commission, and which was discovered later through the vigilance of Mr. William Farrer, the enthusiastic antiquary, to whom we are indebted for so much useful work in connection with Early Lancashire records.

Through the courtesy of Major Bagot, M.P., of Levens Hall, I am permitted to reproduce this charter, the date of which is circa 1170, and which, as will be seen, runs as follows :—

Notum sit omnibus, tam presentibus quam futuris, clericis et laicis, quod ego Willelmus de Lancastra, dedi et concessi Normanno de Hieland, pro suo humagio et servicio, Lefnes, per suas rectas divisas, in Bosco, in plano, in pratis, in pascuis, sibi et suis heredibus, de me et meis heredibus, tenere libere et quiete et pro suo libero



THE GRANT OF LEVENS TO NORMAN DE HIELAND.

TO FACE P. 272.

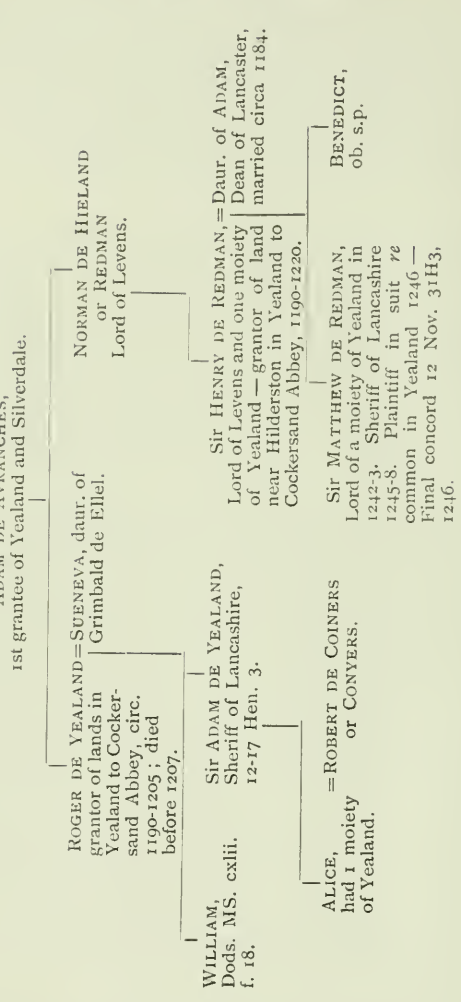
servicio, scilicet, pro octo solidis inde annuatim reddendis, salva piscaria et aqua de Kent usque ad Sand pol, et salvis austurconibus, et cervo et cerva, et apro et lea. His testibus:—domina Helewisa, sponsa sua; Simone de ——; anselmo; huctredo filio osolf; Rogero, filio Ade; Roberto mustel; Ricardo, filio alardi; Jurdano; Gileberto, fratre suo; Gileberto de Croft; Johanne clerico, et aliis pluribus audientibus, hoc———

It will be observed that in this grant of Levens by William of Lancaster (presumably the second baron of Kendal, of that name) the grantee is described as Normannus de Hieland, or Yealand, thus identifying the first of the Redman owners of Levens as a member of the family founded by Adam d'Averenge or d'Avranches, to whom, a generation earlier, William of Lancaster I. ("vetus") granted Yealand and Silverdale (Farrer's *Lancashire Fines*, pt. i., p. 107*n*).

An exhaustive examination of all the available evidences relating to this family of Yealand leads to the conclusion that Norman de Hieland (and later, de Redman) was probably a son of Adam d'Avranches, and thus a cadet of the great Norman family, DeAbrincis, of which Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, and nephew of the Conqueror was perhaps the most distinguished representative. That he was a member of this family, at least, is placed beyond doubt by the facts that, in addition to the identity of name, Yealand became on Adam's death the joint property of his son, Roger and of Norman, and that in a suit in 1246, *re* common in Yealand, it was stated that Alice Coniers (Adam's great-grand-daughter) and Sir Matthew de Redman (Norman's grandson) were of common origin.

To make the relationship of the Yealand and Redman families more clear, it may be well to give the following pedigree. (See next page.)

How Norman de Yealand came to change his name and to be identified with the town or village of Redman, in Cumberland, still remains a matter for discovery. It is



certain, however, that for some years before his death he was known as Norman de Redman, the first of the long and illustrous line of Redmans of Levens and Harewood Castle.

Norman de Redman, who probably survived until (circa) 1184, is described in the *Dodsworth MSS.* as

"Dapifer Guarini ministr' S'ci Hosp' Jer'lm;" and it is conjectured that he may have acted in this capacity, as a young man, to William de Warren, third earl of Surrey, who accompanied Lewis, King of France, on his ill-fated expedition against the Saracens in 1147—"an expedition," according to Banks, "wherein the consecrated banner of the Christians fell into the hands of infidelity, and orthodox blood reeked in crimson sanctity on the Saracen's sword," an adventure from which the gallant earl never returned.

In this connection, as indicating the probability that at least one early member of the Redman family was a Crusader, it may be interesting to record that at the church of Thornton-in-Lonsdale, where a colony of the Redmans was formed about five centuries ago, the Rev. A. J. Warwick, M.A., the courteous vicar, informs me there are still preserved "two fine linen cloths with the temple of Jerusalem woven therein," bequeathed to the church by Ralph Redmayne, Esq., who died at Thornton in 1703.

The earliest mention I have been able to discover of Norman de Redman is in the character of witness to the following charter *(Ex Registro de Cokersand*, f. 112; *Monasticon*, vi., 909):—

> Sciant praesentes et futuri, quod ego Will'us de Lancaster dedi . . . . Hugoni, heremitae, locum de Askelcros et Croc, &c. . . . . pro salute animae meae, et Helewisiae Sponsae meae, &c. Hiis testibus, dominâ Helewisiâ, Sponsa meâ, *Normano dapifero.*

He also appears as a witness to a grant of lands in Hailinethait by Thomas, son of Gospatric, to Furness Abbey, and to a confirmation by William of Lancaster (ii.) to William, son of Roger de Kirkby-Irleth, of certain lands in Furness (Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp. 442-3). Mr. Farrer gives the date of this confirmation as circa 1179.

That Norman was a benefactor to the church of St. Mary, of Kildeholm, appears from a confirmation (2 John) to that church:—

Ex dono Normann de Redeman t'ra de Tranethern cu omibz ptin suis:

Of Norman's collaterals I can only find mention of two —in a gift by Sir Henry de Redman, his son and heir, of three shillings yearly to Furness Abbey, *ad luminaria* :—

Scilicet ii quos W(illelmus), filius *Wa(l)thevi*, avunculi mei, mihi reddit pro terra de Herthornthwaite, quæ fuit *Adæ*, avunculi mei; scil xii ad Pascha, et xii ad festum S. Michaelis et xii quos Gamellus, filius Levin, reddit mihi pro terra de Middlethwayt *(Furness Coucher Book*, Cheetham Society, vol. ii., p. 509).

The Waltheof (or Waldieve) and Adam mentioned in this grant (the date of which Burn gives as 1212) were probably brothers of Norman's wife; but, at the time of writing, I have found it impossible to identify them with any certainty.

Norman de Redman appears to have died circa 1184, and from this period the history of his descendants for many centuries progresses on well-established lines, and is supported by abundant evidences.

SIR HENRY DE REDMAN.

With Sir Henry de Redman, son of Norman, the chief interest of the family passes from Lancashire and Cumberland to Westmorland, where he appears to have made his home at Levens, which for nearly four centuries remained in the uninterrupted possession of himself and his descendants. One moiety of Levens passed into Sir Henry's hands by the following fine in 1188 :—

Henricus, filius Normanni de Redeman, debet unam marcam ut finis, factus inter eum et Ketellum, filium Uchtredi, de terra de Levenes, recordetur in curia Regis, de dominatione illius terrae quam Ketellus concessit Henrico et heredibus suis, cujus medietatem Henricus tenebit in dominio suo, et Ketellus tenebit aliam medietatem de Henrico per idem servicium quod Henricus inde facit capitali domino *(Mag. Rot.*, 34 Hen. II.; *Dugdale MSS.*, &c.).

The remaining moiety, together with Selside, was granted to Henry de Redman by Gilbert FitzRoger Fitz Reinfrid, who married the only daughter and heiress of William of Lancaster the second, and succeeded him as baron of Kendal, and who for some years shared with Henry the office of sheriff of Yorkshire.

Thus, before the end of the twelfth century, we find the Redmans firmly established in Westmorland, and evidently adding largely to their already extensive possessions.

In 1183-4, "Adam the Dean" paid 100 shillings for permission to marry his daughter, who was in the King's gift, to the son of Norman de Redman—Roll of 30 Henry II. (Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, p. 52). It has been suggested that "Adam the Dean" was Adam, dean of Kirkham, and that he was identical with Adam de Avranches, lord of Yealand and Silverdale, who, as we have seen, was probably Henry de Redman's grandfather. An exhaustive examination of the records which I have been able to make, with the invaluable assistance of Mr. Farrer, compels the conclusion that both these identifications are open to very serious question. The probability is exceedingly strong that Adam, the father-in-law of Henry, was Adam, dean of Lancaster, and not of Kirkham, and that he was distinct not only in identity but in generation from Adam, of Avranches. The evidences appear to me to indicate that "Adam the Dean" was a Pennington, a member of the ancient and illustrious family whose history carries us back beyond the Conquest, and which is, in our day, worthily represented by Josslyn Pennington, fifth Baron Muncaster.

Henry de Redman appears to have been a man of considerable wealth and importance in his time. He was seneschal of Kendal, in which capacity he witnessed a grant of Robert de Veteripont to the abbey of Shap; and with Gilbert FitzRoger Fitz Reinfrid he was sheriff of Yorkshire, 12-15 John (*Dodsworth MSS.*, 79, f. 115).

There is still to be seen in the north drawing-room of

Levens Hall a charter of 1188 bearing the seal of Richard I., and re-endorsed after Richard's return from captivity, exempting Henry de Redman, as successor of Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid, from the payment of the tribute called "noutgeld." In 1198-9 he gave 20 marks for the custody of the land and heir of William de Kellet, and in 1206, forty marks for the custody of the land and heir of Roger de Hedon, and for the marriage of the said heir to his daughter (*Rotuli de Finibus*, p. 335). He was, as we have seen, a benefactor to Furness Abbey; and the chartulary of the abbey of Shap records a grant to it of part of his lands in Lupton "pro salute animae meae, et uxoris meae et omnium antecessorum meorum" (*Dodsworth MSS.*, 159).

At Levens Hall may also be seen charters of which he was a witness—a grant by Gilbert fil. Robert to St. Peter's Hospital at York, and a grant to the monks of Byland by Hugh and Ralph, sons of Robert of Sigg, of lands held of Henry de Redeman (*Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report 10, pt. 4), and his name appears repeatedly among the witnesses to charters of King John's reign.

In 1216, we find among the hostages provided by Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid for his future good conduct and loyalty, after his rebellion against King John, the name of Benedict, son and heir of Henry Redeman, in company with the names of the heirs of Roger de Kirkeby (Gilbert's son-in-law), William de Windsor (his niece's husband), Ralph d'Aincourt, Adam de Yealand, Walter de Strickland, and others.

Henry himself took an active part with the barons in this rebellion, and was among the prisoners taken at the surrender to King John of Rochester Castle. In 1215 we find a mandate to Robert de Courtenay, to whose charge he had been assigned, to keep Henry de Redman and others in safe custody; and in the next year, following doubtless on his pardon, a direction to the sheriffs of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire to restore him to his possessions (*Rot. Lit. Claus.*, Turr., London).

Sir Henry de Redman appears from the records to have had four sons—Matthew, who succeeded him; Benedict, who, as we have seen, was one of Gilbert FitzRoger Fitz Reinfrid's hostages, and who is described as Henry's heir; Norman, who appears as one of three hostages, provided by William of Lancaster, who were wrongfully detained at Nottingham, and whose liberation was ordered by the King (*Rot. Lit. Claus.*, p. 497, 16th May, 1222); and Thomas, who in 1247 confirmed to the abbey of Shap two oxgangs of land in Appleby, which Norman, his brother, bequeathed with his body to the said abbey.

As Benedict did not succeed to the family estates, we may assume that he died in his father's lifetime; of Norman and Thomas the records do not seem to contain any further information. Henry died circa 1225, and was succeeded by his son,

SIR MATTHEW (I.)

Matthew de Redman who was the first of at least seven knights of the same name. In 1234 we find that a fine was passed between Robert, abbot of Furness, plaintiff, and Matthew de Redman and Amabel, his wife, defendants, *re* the manors of Carleton and Dreg (Drigg), a portion of which Matthew had received in free marriage with Amabel (Beck's *Furness Annals*, p. lxxx.).

These manors were members of the Stutevill fee in Cumberland, and formed part of the dower of Joan, daughter and heir of Nicholas de Stutevill, lord of Liddel, on her marriage to Hugh Wake.

It has been inferred that Amabel may have been a Greystock or a Harrington, but as there is no evidence that any part of the manors of Carleton and Drigg came into the hands of either of these families until more than a generation after Sir Matthew's death, it is reasonable to conclude that Amabel was a Stutevill. The probability seems to be that she was a daughter of William, Lord

Stutevill, King John's favourite, and aunt of Joan, wife of Hugh Wake.

Sir Matthew de Redman was a witness to several charters, including a grant to St. Peter's Hospital at York by Thomas de Hastings; the confirmation by William of Lancaster, son of Gilbert Fitz Reinfrid, of a grant of lands at Preston, Holme, and Hutton to Patric, grandson of Gospatric; and a release of the right of patronage of Eccleston Church (*Hist. MSS. Commission*, Report 10, pt. 4).

In 1242, according to the *Testa de Nevill*, he held in conjunction with Robert de Conyers one-eighth of a knight's fee in Yealand of William of Lancaster. Like his father, he held the office of seneschal of Kendal; he was sheriff of Lancashire, 1245-8; and his arms, "De goules, trois horeillers d'or," appear in *Glover's Roll* (1243-6).

REDMAN ARMS.

The origin of the Redman arms has hitherto baffled discovery. Guillim has a very fanciful and amusing explanation of the cushions or pillows, referring them to an incident in which a somnolent Redman was sleeping comfortably in his tent when he was aroused by a trumpet-challenge to a pre-arranged duel; whereupon he rose, and making short work of his adversary, forthwith assumed the seductive pillows as his armorial bearings.

The three cushions have also been borne, among others, by the earls of Moray, the Bruces of Anandale, the Greystocks, Kirkpatricks, Dunbars, Brisbanes, and Huttons. Mr. Oswald Barron, the great authority on feudal heraldry, thinks there must have been some connection, feudal or by blood, between the Redmans and the Greystocks; but I have hitherto been unable to discover any such link between them and any of the families who have borne the same arms.

Sir Matthew appears to have had four sons and two daughters—Henry, his heir; Ingram and Randle, who

REDMAN QUARTERING ALDEBURGH.

IN THE GREAT CHAMBER OF HAREWOOD CASTLE, 1584.

occur in 1254 as "sons of Matthew de Redman;" Nicholas, who appears in 1277 and 1278 in a suit with the abbot of Cokersand; and Juliana and Agnes, who occur in 1254.

HENRY.

Sir Matthew (i.) was succeeded by his son Henry, who in 1267 received a grant of free warren in Levens, Yealand, and Trenterne:—

Rex concessit Henrico de Redman liberam warennam in omnibus d'nicis terris de Lyvenes, Yeland et Trenterne in Com' Lanc' et Westm'land *(Dodsworth MSS.*, 159, f. 181).

In 1292 we find his son, the second Sir Matthew Redman, claiming free warren in the same lands:—

Math'us de Redeman sum' fuit ad respondendum d'no Regi de placito quo warranto clamat habere lib'am warennam in Levenes &c.

Et Math'us venit et profert cartam d'ni H. Regis, patris d'ni Regis nunc, anno regni sui quinquagesimo primo, per quam concessit Hen. de Redeman, patri ejusdem Math'i, cujus heres ipse est, quod ipse et heredes sui imperpetuum habeant liberam warennam in omnibus dominicis terris suis de Levenes, Yeland et Trenterne in Com' Lanc' et Westmerland *(Placita de quo War'*, a° R. Edw. I., vicesimo—rot. 6, dorso).

From this it is clear that Henry de Redman, about whom the records supply little information, had a son Matthew (ii.), who succeeded him. He also appears to have had a son Henry, who as "Henry, son of Henry de Redman," was among the benefactors of Cokersand Abbey in 1300 (MSS. of W. C. Strickland, Esq. of Sizergh).

In the same year, on the evidence of Palgrave's documents illustrating the affairs of Scotland (p. 209), Henry Redman figures on the roll of the Earl of Essex and Hereford, containing the proffers of military service made at Carlisle :—

Dominus Johannes, Baro de Greystok, recognovit et offert servicium duorum foederum militum et dimidium, fac' per Henricum Redman, Ad' de Colewell &c. cum V equis co-opertis.

It is also possible that Thomas de Redman, who in an inquisition dated 1307 is named with John Le Venour as one of the next heirs of Alan of Cammerton, was another son of this Henry de Redman, and brother of the second Sir Matthew.

Maria quae fuit uxor Alani de Camberton' defuncta. De terris quas ipse tenuit in dotem, die quo Scotis inimicis Regis adhaesit, de hereditate Thomae de Redman et Johannis le Venour, consanguineorum et haeredum praedicti Alani.

From this inquisition it appears that Maria, the wife of Alan, had in dower a third part of two carucates of land in Camberton, &c., and that she died in the county of

Fife in Scotland, 32 Edward I. (Roberts' *Calend. Geneal.*, ii., 745). It seems probable that Henry de Redman, son of Matthew (i.), married an heiress of Camberton.

SIR MATTHEW (II. AND III.).

Sir Matthew the second married Goditha, who appears to have been a member of the family of Cammerton, and thus a descendant of Ivo de Tailbois, first baron of Kendal, and of Gospatric, earl of Northumberland. In 1296 I find two charters of William de Camberton made to Matthew de Redman and Goditha his wife of his lands in Camberton and Dymouthe *(Placitorum Abbreviatio*, 24 Edward I.).

The records of the closing years of the thirteenth and the first quarter of the fourteenth century are full of evidences of the military prowess and political and diplomatic activities of " Sir Matthew de Redman," but in the absence of any definite information as to the date of death of the second Matthew, it is impossible to say with any certainty which services are to be credited to him and which to his son and successor, the third Matthew.

In 1294, according to the *Patent Rolls*, we find Sir Matthew, with John de Cornubia, assessing and levying tenths to aid the King in his wars ; and in the following year he was at Westminster attending Parliament as knight of the shire for Lancashire.

Two years later, in 1297, he was summoned to appear with horses and arms at a military council held in London by Prince Edward, from which he was despatched with other knights and barons to join the army under John de Warenne, earl of Surrey. In the same year he appears to have been released for a time from his military duties, for we find him witnessing certain grants of lands by William of Lancaster and John de Culwen.

In 1299 he was defending the marches against the inroads of the Scots, in company with Robert, Lord

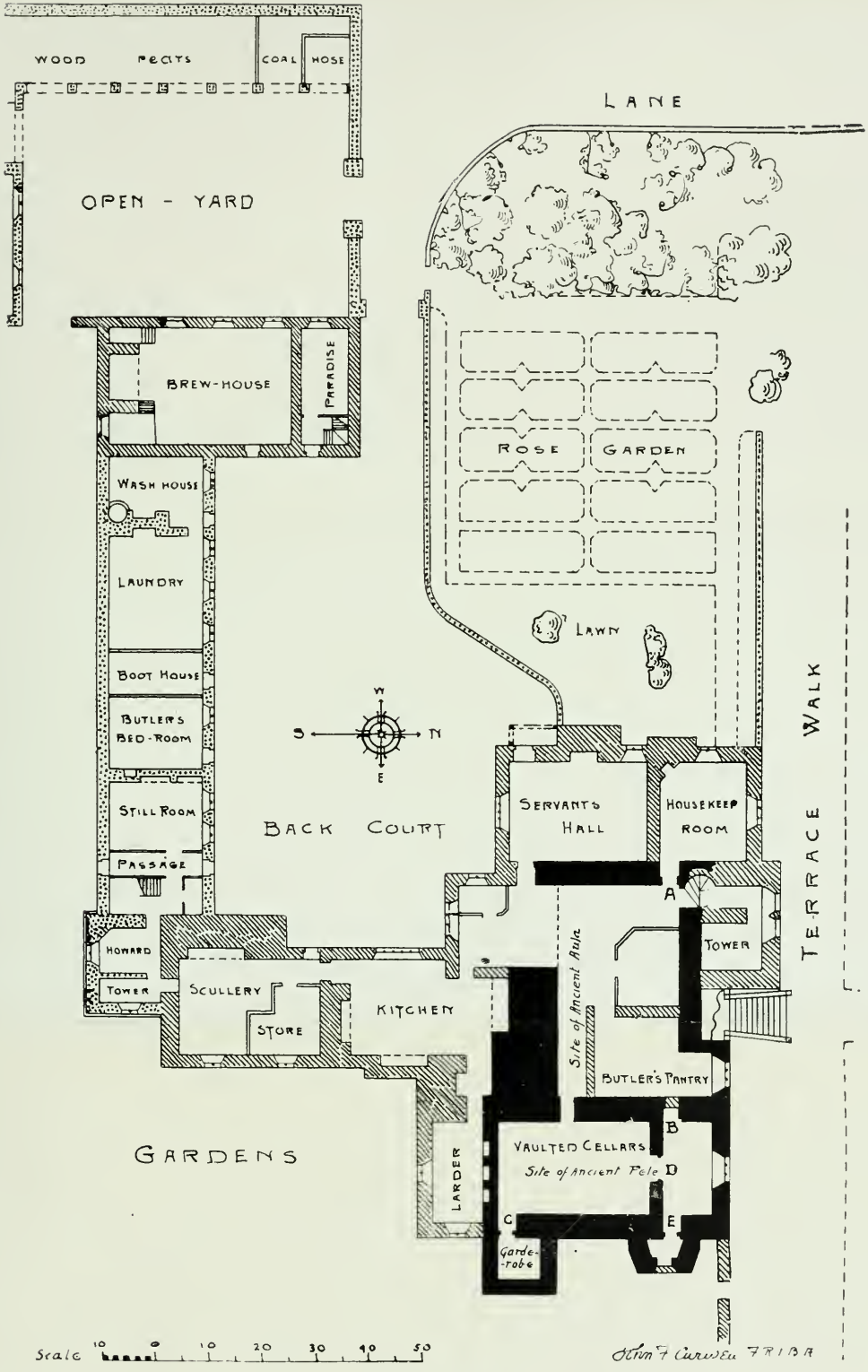
Clifford; and he wound up the century by acting, in 1300, as commissioner of array in Westmorland and Lancashire, and by raising 2,000 footmen to serve against the Scots. In the following year some evil-disposed persons took advantage of his absence on the King's service to throw down one of his mills at Lupton, with the result that he appealed for redress to the law.

In 1303-4 he was acting as warden and sheriff of the castle of Dumfries, and had with him as *valettus* Adam Redeman, his son, known later as Adam of Yealand; and in 1305, in company with John and Thomas de Tunstal, he was on the King's service, with Sir Henry de Percy, in Scotland—probably on some diplomatic mission.

The year 1307 saw him discharged from Parliamentary attendance at Northampton, and fighting in the Scottish marches; to be elected a little later as knight of the shire for Lancashire, and a conservator of peace for Westmorland. In 1308 he was in command of the forces of the county of Lancaster collected at Carlisle to oppose the advance of Robert Bruce, and in the same year he was in the commission of the peace for Westmorland (*Patent Rolls*, Edward II.).

In 1309 he was arraying and leading Lancashire levies, fighting valorously in the marches, and, in a judicial capacity, receiving complaints of prizes illegally taken. In 1310 he was commanded to lead a body of 300 foot-soldiers to Berwick-on-Tweed, there to join the English army in an expedition against the "rebellious and hostile Scots."

In the following year we find him again occupied in arraying and leading levies of armed men, and two years later his activities were transferred to Westminster as knight of the shire for Westmorland. He appears to have taken an active part with the earl of Lancaster in procuring the capture and execution of Piers Gaveston, for in 1313 he obtained a pardon for "his participation in Gaveston's death and the disturbance occasioned thereby."



LEVENS HALL.

By permission of Mr. Curwen.

TO FACE P. 285.

The year 1314 found him in the commission of the peace for Westmorland; four years later he was engaged in arraying all Westmorland men between the ages of 20 and 60 capable of bearing arms, and in 1324 he attended the great council at Westminster—a programme of services which is eloquent of the valour and varied activities of the heads of the Redman family six centuries ago.

LEVENS HALL.

It was probably in the early part of the fourteenth century, and thus during the life of the third Sir Matthew, that, according to Mr. John F. Curwen, F.R.I.B.A., the Redmans first began to build Levens Hall, which, nearly six centuries later, is still one of the most beautiful and interesting of the "stately homes of England."

In the opinion of Mr. Curwen—than whom, perhaps, no one is better qualified to judge, and to whose most interesting and valuable book on Levens Hall I am indebted for many references to it in this paper—the first building erected by the Redmans took the form of a border Pele tower, one of those strong, sturdy fortresses built for the defence of their owners against the raiding Scots, and for a refuge and protection for their tenants and dependants. This tower, like those of Dallam, Sizergh, Kentmere, and many others which were scattered like grim sentinels over the border counties, was probably "built up of plain rubble, without plinth, set-off or string course, over the existing barrel-vaulted cellars and their low benchings of stone-work."

Assuming this, Mr. Curwen estimates the dimensions of this original Redman tower as 46 feet by 25 feet, with walls ranging from 3 to 4½ feet in thickness.

As an annexe to this tower the Redmans probably built on to the west side an aula or great hall, with a high and massive roof of oak—a hall 40 feet long and 22 feet wide. Here, on a raised dais, the lord would entertain his

honoured guests; while dependants and guests of inferior rank would take their seats at tables ranged along each side of the hall. At the side of the hall opposite the raised dais would be a tall oaken screen, over which was the minstrels' gallery, and behind it the kitchen, buttery, and other domestic offices.

This hall was used alike for feasting and as a Court, in which the lord transacted his business with his vassals, received their suit and service, and administered justice.

Such, roughly, was the nucleus of the present hall of Levens as built by the Redmans in the fierce days of Border warfare, when a man's home was literally his castle, and when no consideration of comfort or luxury could weigh for a moment against the imperative demands of solidity and power of resistance.

In later years, no doubt, considerable additions were made by the Redmans to the original structure, for, as Mr. Curwen says, "walls of outbuildings have been discovered in the garden at this end of the house, with indications of having been destroyed by fire."

Even to-day, six hundred years after the Redmans began to build, many traces of their occupation of Levens Hall may be seen in the existing building, from the tower which "stands to-day but little altered since the date of its first erection," and the ancient doorways, with their Carnarvon arches indicating thirteenth or fourteenth century construction, to the tapestry which once adorned the walls of the aula, and was probably worked by the hands of Redman *chatelaines*,* and parchments seven centuries old, which bear their husbands' signatures, as fresh almost to-day as when they were penned.

Much less changed, however, is the beautiful park, which was enclosed by Sir Matthew Redman by licence

* In this connection, Major Bagot informs me that "a cushion on a chair in Levens Hall has some dilapidated arms on it (the three cushions evidently forming part of them), which have always been said to be Redman arms. They are in old embroidery put on to comparatively modern material (probably 1780 to 1810)."

in 1360, and in which, no doubt, these stern, warlike Redman knights drilled their retainers and engaged in friendly jousts.

SIR MATTHEW (III.)

To return to the Sir Matthews. Whatever doubt there may be as to the precise Matthew—father or son—who figures in any particular record from 1294 to 1324, there can be little question that at the end of this period the second Sir Matthew would either be dead or too old to engage in such active exercises as fighting and attending Parliament in London.

Of his children three sons appear on the records—Sir Matthew, the third, his heir and successor; Adam, who appears to have succeeded to the Redman estate at Yealand, and who enjoyed in addition a life custody of lands in "Tibbaye and Ronnerthwayte;" and William, who is described in the *Close Roll* of 1318 as Adam's brother.

We may safely conclude that it was the third Sir Matthew to whom protection was granted during a journey in 1331 to Ireland with Anthony de Lucy, and who six years later travelled beyond seas with William de Bohun, earl of Northampton. Like his father, he appears to have been kept actively employed in protecting the northern counties from inroads of the Scots, for in 1344 he was enjoined to see that no supplies reached the Scots from the ports of Cumberland and Westmorland, and in the same year he was appointed receiver and guardian of all the King's victuals at Carlisle and in the adjacent district (*Abbr. Rot. Orig.*, vol. 165).

His name appears as witness to many grants about this time—by Sir Walter Strickland, his near neighbour; Ralph de Patton, and others—and he was a juror on the inquisition of Robert, Lord Clifford. Like his father, he represented Westmorland in Parliament, 1357-8; and in

1359 he was appointed sheriff of Cumberland and governor of the castle of Carlisle.

REDMANS OF THORNTON, &c.

In this year, in conjunction with his wife Margaret, who was probably a Moresby, he gave twenty marks for the custody of the lands of John of Twisleton and the marriage of his daughter, and it seems more than probable that from this alliance between the Redmans and Twisletons we may date the founding of the Redman colony of Thornton-in-Lonsdale and the district, including Ireby, Twisleton, Ingleton, and Burton, which flourished for three centuries, until in the troublous times of the Civil War the estates of Sir John Redmayne, of Thornton Hall, were sequestrated.

The Redmans of this district, whose canting crest was the "red-*main*" or hand, formed alliances with the families of Layton, of Dalemain; Tunstall, of Thurland Castle; Cholmondeley, Bellingham, Vavasour, Lambert, and Selby, and gave to the world, among other distinguished sons, Dr. John Redmayne, the first master of Trinity College, and one of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, whose tomb is in Westminster Abbey.

From Edward Redman, a cadet of this house, whose grand-daughter married Mr. William Robinson, Lord Mayor of York, the present marquis of Ripon descends; while Colonel Daniel Redman, one of Cromwell's officers, who received a grant of land in Ireland, and whose daughter was ancestress of the earls of Carrick, Clancarty, &c., was a son of Sir James Redman, of Kirkby Lonsdale, probably another member of this colony. General John Lambert, it may be interesting to add, was nephew of Avelyn Lambert, wife of William Redmayne, of Ireby, and mother of Sir John Redmayne, whose loyalty to the Royalist cause involved him in ruin.

The third Sir Matthew, founder of this Thornton branch

of the family, died in 1360, and was buried in the church of St. Peter, Heversham. By his will *(Testamenta Karleolensia,* edited by Chancellor Ferguson) he left all his personal estate to his wife Margaret, and his executors, probably near relatives of his wife, were Christopher and Hugh de Moriceby.

There was living at the same time as the third Sir Matthew another Redman of the same name, who died at Carlisle in 1356, and who marryed a D'Eyncourt, but I have been unable to establish the relationship between the two Matthews.

SIR MATTHEW (IV.).

The fourth Sir Matthew, who appears to have been a man of even greater energy and ability than his predecessors, was for many years one of the most conspicuous men of his time. He was sheriff and knight of the shire, a diplomatist entrusted with delicate negotiations, governor of important castles, leader of armies, and a doughty, if at times prudent, fighter in France, Spain, England, and Scotland, of whose prowess many stories are told by Grafton, Froissart, Ridpath, and other chroniclers.

In 1373 Sir Matthew was fighting in France under John of Gaunt, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the French and Burgundians in an affray at Ouchy le Chasteau, near Soissons, when his comrade-in-arms Thomas, Lord Archer, was taken prisoner; and for the next six years he appears to have been fighting constantly in France and Spain, varying his warlike activities in 1375 by proclaiming a truce in Brittany, and in the following year by being taken prisoner, recovering his freedom only as the result of the intercession of Parliament.

In 1379 he was commissioned with Roger de Clifford, Hugh de Dacre, and others to array and equip with arms all able-bodied men in Cumberland "to resist hostile

invasion and the destruction of the English tongue;" and that he was a man of a tender heart as well as of a stout arm is evidenced by his intercession on behalf of Thomas de Denethwayt, charged with the death of Elias Addison, whom the King pardoned on Sir Matthew's supplication (*Patent Rolls*, Richard II.).

In this year (1380) he was entrusted, in company with Roger de Clifford, with the duty of seeing that all the frontier castles and fortalices were suitably fortified, manned, and provisioned; and of compelling all land-owners in Cumberland and Westmorland, who held lands of the value of 110 marks and over, to remain on them to assist in checking hostile incursions.

He was, also in 1380, in the commission of the peace for Cumberland and Northumberland, and joint warden of the west marches.

In 1381 he succeeded the earl of Northumberland as governor of the castle of Roxburgh, and was appointed sheriff of the county. Presumably as some evidence of Sir Matthew's importance, he is described at this time as having "57 serjeants in his own retinue;" and, perhaps as some indication of his piety, it is mentioned that he took John Gregory to Scotland with him as chaplain.

In the following year we find him invested with authority to arrest and imprison all persons suspected of having, in defiance of truce, stolen and brought into England the goods of divers Scotsmen.

In 1386 he was sent with Lord Nevill, of Raby, to treat with the Scots for peace, and was engaged in 1388 in arraying armed men in Northumberland and the north of Yorkshire. Sir Matthew was governor of Berwick in the year of Otterbourne, and took a prominent part in that historic fight. When the English forces were put to flight Sir Matthew, as Froissart records in his Chronicle, was not the last to realise that discretion is a valuable ingredient of valour. He was, however, hotly pursued by Sir James Lindsay, a doughty Scottish knight, who brought him to

bay, and after a fierce hand-to-hand fight took him prisoner, releasing him, however, on securing a promise that Sir Matthew would surrender himself on an appointed day at Carlisle. As ill-luck would have it, Sir James was himself taken prisoner by the English a few hours later, and when Sir Matthew, in discharge of his promise, reached Carlisle to give himself to Lindsay's custody he found his captor in the same plight as himself—a predicament over which both knights made merry at a banquet, for which it is to be hoped Sir Matthew paid.

An amusing story is told by Grafton of Sir Matthew when, as governor of Berwick, he refused to admit the duke of Lancaster into the town, saying "I shall not suffer ye, nor none of yours to enter." "Then the duke, *not saying all that he thought*, brake out of this matter and sayde 'Sir Redmayne, what tydyngs out of England?' and he sayde he knew none, but that the countries were sore moved, and the King had sent to all this country to be in redinesse whensoever he should send. Then the Duke mused a little, and sodainly turned his horse, and bid the knight farewell, and so went to the Castle of Rosebourgh, and the Constable receyved him" (Grafton's *Chronicle*, i., 428).

In 1389 Sir Matthew, with Thomas, Earl marshal, and others, was empowered to "enquire and certify as to places in Northumberland burnt by the King's enemies of Scotland;" and in this and the following year he appears in the commission of peace for Northumberland *(Patent Rolls*, Richard II.)

Sir Matthew married (1) Lucy (of whose identity I am ignorant) and (2) Joan, daughter of Henry, Lord Fitzhugh, and widow of William, fourth Lord Greystock, and Anthony, third Lord de Lucy. His second wife brought him the manor and castle of Langeley, co. Northumberland, a moiety of the manor of Aspatrik, and a third part of the barony of Egremond, with the advowson of Ulnedale, all of which, after her death, went to Henry,

first earl of Northumberland, who married Matilda, Anthony de Lucy's sister and heir.

By his first wife Lucy, Sir Matthew was father of Sir Richard Redman, his successor in the family estates, and founder of the Redman line of Harewood; and he also had a daughter Felicia, who married Sir John de Lumley, and from whom the earls of Scarborough, the duke of Westminster, and very many of our noble families of to-day derive descent. Felicia's great-grandson married Elizabeth Plantagenet, daughter of King Edward IV. by the Lady Elizabeth Lucy.

SIR RICHARD (I.) OF LEVENS AND HAREWOOD.

With Sir Richard, for the first time since two centuries earlier his ancestor Henry de Redman purchased Levens, the history of the family ceases to be chiefly identified with Westmorland, although for two centuries more the Redmans appear to have retained Levens, and to have spent a considerable part of their time in the county.

Sir Richard Redman, who perhaps figures more prominently in the history of his time than any of his ancestors or successors, was a man skilled in all the arts of chivalry, statecraft, and diplomacy. In the stirring times in which his father played so conspicuous a part he quickly won his spurs, for he must have been a very young man when in 1388 he is described as "Richard Redman, the King's knight," in a grant to him of all the lands and tenements which Richard (II.) had in the town of Blencogo, co. Cumberland (*Patent Rolls*).

Two years later, when his father appears to have been dead, he confirmed an ancient grant of family lands to the monks of Byland. In this year, youthful as he must have been, he was entrusted with the responsible work of surveying the castle, gate, and towers of Carlisle with the object of assessing the cost of repairing them; and he received a grant of 40 marks a year in support of his

estate, as a life-retainer "to stay with the King," who, it may be interesting to note, was, like Sir Richard, a lineal descendant of the Barons Stutevill.

From this period to the close of his life Sir Richard's name appears frequently in contemporary records in a wide range of prominent and useful characters. Between 1390 and 1413 he was six times sheriff of Cumberland; and, as evidence of his love of knightly exercises, we find him in 1392 receiving permission from the King to engage, with three companions-in-arms, in a joust with William of Haliburton and three of his friends at Carlisle.

At this time he sought in marriage the hand of Elizabeth, widow of Sir Bryan Stapleton, and sister and co-heir of the second Lord Aldeburgh, who had died without male heirs. On their brother's death Elizabeth and her sister Sibyl, wife of Sir William Ryther, succeeded to equal moieties of the castle and manor of Harewood in Yorkshire, which had descended to them from Robert de Romelli through William de Meschines, earl of Cambridge, the de Courcys, Fitzgeralds, de Redvers, de Fortibus, and the Lords L'Isle, of Rougemont.

Of the founding of this ancient and historic castle of Harewood and of its vicissitudes this is, perhaps, not the place to write. It may be sufficient to say that when, circa 1394, Sir Richard Redman, of Levens, married Elizabeth Stapleton (Aldeburgh) a moiety of the castle and manor (with other large adjacent properties) came into the possession of the Redman family, while the remaining moiety was transferred to the family of Ryther by Elizabeth's sister and co-heir, Sibyl.

From this period the principal Redman family appears to have occupied the castle of Harewood alternately with the Rythers, and to have spent the remainder of their time at their ancestral home, Levens Hall—their interests and activities being divided for the next two hundred years between their old county of Westmorland and their new county, Yorkshire.

In 1399 Sir Richard received permission to hold a tournament at Carlisle. A few months later we find him travelling in Ireland with John, Lord Cobham; and in the spring of the following year he was appointed to treat for peace with the Scots.

In 1404, and again in the following year, he was sheriff of Yorkshire; and in 1404 he was commissioned by the King to array all men-at-arms and bowmen in the districts of Kendal and Lonsdale.

In 1405 he was empowered to exact fines from those implicated in the ill-fated Percy rising, in which the gallant, if rash, Hotspur lost his life at Shrewsbury, with a third of his army. This year, too, saw Sir Richard for the first time representing his new county of Yorkshire in Parliament, and entering on a political career which ten years later, in the year of Agincourt, culminated in his appointment as Speaker of the Parliament which sat at Northampton. According to Mr. Curwen *(Levens Hall,* p. 4), Sir Richard's arms are still to be seen in a window in the Speaker's House at Westminster—Gules, a chevron argent between three cushions ermine, tasselled Or. These arms do not, however, as has been stated, include either crest or motto.

From the peaceful *rôle* of Speaker we find him transported by one of the swift and startling changes which characterise those restless times to France, where he took part in the brilliant victory which Henry won on the plains of Agincourt over a force vastly superior in numbers to his own.

Sir Richard appears prominently in 1408 when, after the earl of Northumberland's defeat and death at Bramham Moor, he was appointed to receive submissions from the rebels; and in the following year, in company with Sir Richard Holme, canon of York, he was commissioned to treat for peace with the Scots.

In 1424, when he was nearing the close of his eventful life, he was employed with Ralph Graystock, William

Ryther, and Robert Roos, of Ingmanthorp, knights, to make inquisition in the county of Yorkshire, as to lands, tenements, wardships, &c., alleged to have been concealed from the King within the said county; and in this and the previous year he was in the commission of the peace for the West Riding of Yorkshire.

One of his last deeds was to transfer to Richard Redmayne, Esq., probably his younger son, the manor of Blencogo, co. Cumberland, in November, 1426, the year in which he died.

On the death of Sir Richard's first wife, which appears to have taken place in 1422, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne, of Gawthorpe, the famous Chief Justice of England who committed Prince Henry, afterwards Henry V., to prison for contempt of Court. Elizabeth Gascoigne survived her husband eight years.

Sir Richard and his two wives are said to have been buried under the arch on the north side of the chancel of Harewood Church, where their memory is preserved by two magnificent altar-tombs, on each of which are recumbent figures of a knight in armour and his lady. I find, however, in the list of burials in the church of the Friar Preachers, or the Black Friars, of York (written by John Wrythe, Garter King-at-arms), the following entries which appear to refer to Sir Richard and his first wife, Elizabeth Aldeburgh :—

> It' Messe Richard Redman ch'l'r
> It' Elizabeth de Aldeburgh jadiz dame de Harwode.

By his will (*Test. Ebor.*, i., pp. 351-361, Surtees Society) Sir Richard left the manors of Levens and certain Harewood estates to Richard, his younger son, in trust for his grandson Richard, then a minor; on the death of this Richard without heirs to his son Richard, and failing heirs of the latter to John Redman, son of Elene Grene, &c. The manors of Kereby and Kirkby (Kirkby Overblow)

he devised to Brian de Stapleton, son of Sir Brian Stapleton by his (Sir Richard's) first wife, Elizabeth Aldeburgh, under certain conditions as to forfeiture, &c.

Sir Richard appears to have had two sons and one daughter—(1) Sir Matthew, of whom later, who died during his father's lifetime, leaving an infant son Richard; (2) Richard, who was probably the Richard of Bossall (1450-55), who had lands at Newton in Whitby Strand in 1460, and who was living in 1471; and (3) Joan, who married Sir Thomas Wentworth, and from whom the great and ill-fated earl of Strafford, the marquis of Rockingham (George III.'s Prime Minister), and other historic nobles derived descent.

Dr. Richard Redman, bishop of St. Asaph, Ely, and Exeter, who is given by the late Sir George Duckett as son of the first Richard of Harewood, and by other authorities as son of Sir Richard the second, was more probably a son of Richard of Bossall above-mentioned, and thus a grandson of the Speaker. Dr. Redman was educated at Cambridge, and became in turn canon and abbot of Shap, bishop of St. Asaph (1471), of Exeter (1496), and of Ely (1501). He was admitted to the Privy Council in 1493, restored St. Asaph's Cathedral after its partial destruction by Owen Glendower, was implicated in Lambert Simnel's rebellion, and was (in 1492) a commissioner appointed to treat with the Scots. He died at Ely House, Holborn, in 1505, and by his will left large legacies for charitable and religious uses.

SIR MATTHEW (V.) OF LEVENS AND HAREWOOD.

Of Sir Matthew, eldest son of the Speaker, little is known beyond the fact that he married Johanna, daughter of Sir Thomas Tunstall, of Thurland Castle, and sister of Alice Tunstall, who was great-grandmother of Queen Catherine Parr. Her brother Sir Thomas was grandfather of Sir Brian Tunstall, the "stainless knight" of

Flodden Field. This was the first of at least five alliances between the families of Redman and Tunstall.

Of the later alliances Margaret Tunstall, Sir Brian's sister, married William Redmayne of Twisleton (Thornton), and Sir Brian's grand-daughter married William Redmayne, of Ireby.

Sir Matthew died before his father, leaving a son Richard, who at the time of his grandfather's death was only eight years old, and whose minority was passed under the joint guardianship of Thomas Redman of Thornton-in-Lonsdale and Sir Richard Ducket of Grayrigg.

SIR RICHARD (II.) OF LEVENS AND HAREWOOD.

The second Sir Richard, who appears to have been born in 1418, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Middleton of Middleton Hall and Isabel Musgrave, a descendant through the de Ferrers, earls of Derby, from King Henry I.

Sir Richard's connection with Westmorland was early marked by his election as knight of the shire for that county in 1442, when he was only 24 years of age.

Although the records contain many references to him, this second Sir Richard appears to have led a much less strenuous and active life than any of his predecessors. In fact, beyond a short period of Parliamentary work and the mild occupation of a justice of the peace for Westmorland (1471), he seems to have led the unexciting life of a country gentleman—no doubt cultivating the domestic virtues at Harewood and Levens, and experiencing little more exciting than a dispute with his London tailor in 1465. In spite of this small demand on his vital resources he died in 1476 at the age of 58, exactly half-a-century after his grandfather and predecessor.

According to the Vincent and Philpot pedigrees in the College of Heralds this second Sir Richard is credited

with no less than thirteen children, few of whom appear to have survived him long, as evidenced by his son William's nuncupative will quoted later.

SIR WILLIAM.

He was succeeded in the family estates at Levens, Harewood, and elsewhere by his eldest son Sir William, who in the year following his accession represented Westmorland in Parliament, and in 1480 acted as commissioner of array for the West Riding of the county of York.

He married in 1458 Margaret, daughter of Sir Walter Strickland of Sizergh, for which alliance a dispensation was granted by the Pope's nuncio Vincent Clement.

Sir William's reign was destined to be very brief; for he died in 1482, and was buried in the parish church at Heversham, where in 1628 were to be seen the remains of his epitaph in the "middle quyer" (*Dodsworth MSS.*, 119, f. 74).

Redman erat certe Levens haeres, Harwode aperte, Edwardo iiij^to^ regi meruit famulari . . . .

It will be remembered that the third Sir Matthew Redman was also buried in this church.

By his nuncupative will of 11th September, 1482, Sir William leaves certain legacies *inter alia* to his brothers, Walter (who is elsewhere described as a priest) and Richard, and to his sister Elizabeth Preston (wife of a Preston of Preston Hall and Levens). He names as his executors his wife Margaret, her mother the Dowager Lady Strickland, his brother Edward, Thomas Strickland, and John Preston.

From this will it is reasonable to assume that of the twelve brothers and sisters with whom he has been credited (children of the second Sir Richard) only three brothers and one sister survived his death.

He was succeeded by his brother

SIR EDWARD.

who at the time of Sir William's death was, as stated in an escheat of 22 Edward IV., 26 years old. In the same escheat Sir William is described as holding the manor of Levens from William Parr.

Edward Redman appears to have spread his activities over a wide range of country, for he was in the commission of the peace for Wiltshire as well as for Westmorland and the West Riding of Yorkshire; he was engaged in 1484, with John Scrope of Bolton, in arresting and imprisoning rebels in Devon and Cornwall, and in the same year he was a commissioner of array for the county of Dorset. As a reward for his good services against the rebels he received from the King the manor of Illubruar in Somersetshire, in return for a yearly payment of £6. At this time he was a commissioner to assess subsidies in Yorkshire. Thus within one year we find him busily occupied in counties so widely scattered as Yorkshire, Westmorland, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall.

In a pardon granted to Edward Redman in 1509 he is described as Sir Edward Redmayne of Isell, in Cumberland, late sheriff of Cumberland; of Levens, in Westmorland, armiger; late sheriff of Somerset and Dorset; brother and heir of William Redmayne, knight of Harewood, in the county of York, armiger; of London, gentleman, recently of Chideoke, in the county of Dorset—from which it would appear that he was not only sheriff of Cumberland (1494), but also of Dorset and Somerset, and that his late brother William had also been identified with Devonshire. Later, in 1509, he was again appointed sheriff of Cumberland.

Sir Edward (for on the strength of his description in the above-quoted pardon we may perhaps assume that he had received knighthood) married Elizabeth, widow of Sir —— Legh of Isell, and daughter of Sir John Hudleston of Millom Castle, who survived her husband nearly 20 years, as evidenced by her inquisition made in 1530

by Sir William Middleton, William Legh, and others *(Calendar to State Papers.)*

Sir Edward died on September 27th, 1510, and in his will, dated September 8th of that year, he directs that his body shall be buried in Redman Chapel within the church of Harewood. To his widow he gives a life interest in his estates, with a reservation of £20 yearly to his son Richard and his wife. After his widow's death the estates are to go to the said Richard and his heirs male; failing them, to his daughter Magdalene and her heirs male, "begotten by any of the sons of one William Redman of Twisleton;" and, in case of failure, to Jean Redman, daughter of his deceased eldest son Henry, and her heirs male "begotten by any husband of the name of Redman."

From this will, which shows clearly Sir Edward's great anxiety to preserve the estates in the family and name of Redman, it is evident that at the time of making it his brothers must either have been dead, or in their priestly character have been incapable of perpetuating the name.

By his inquisition, dated 14th January, 2 Henry VIII., Edward was found to be seized of over 3,000 acres of land and 40 solidates of rent in Levens, 40 messuages and 4,100 acres in Lupton, 2 messuages and 120 acres in Hinton, 1 messuage and 50 acres in Hencaster, and 1 messuage and 11½ acres in Henshill, &c., and Joan Redmayne, daughter of his son Henry, "is his heir, and one year old and more" (*Eschætors' Inquisitions*, File 116, No. 3).

By an inquisition taken at Wearby, co. York, 14th November, 2 Henry VIII., he was found seized of a moiety of the castle and manor of Harewood, 2 messuages and 116 acres of land in Harewood, Otley Pole, and Holynhall; and in a later inquisition taken at Harewood, 10th June, 6 Henry VIII., Edward Redmayne is described as seized of the manor of Hollyng Hall; 2 messuages, 400 acres of land, &c., in Otley Poole, Hollyng Hall; and of

12 messuages, 100 acres of land, &c., in Harwode, and a moiety of the manor of Harwode.

Although in these inquisitions Joan Redmayne, daughter of Sir Edward's eldest son Henry by Alice Pilkington, is described as Edward's heir, his younger son Richard appears to have succeeded him in his estates, or at any rate to have died in possession of them. It is conceivable that Joan, who married Marmaduke, son of Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe. may have died without offspring, and on her death her uncle may have succeeded to the inheritance.

RICHARD.

In 1530 I find a confirmation of a charter of grant of warren, fair, and market at Harewood to Henry Rither and Richard Redman, and in the following year Richard was in the commission of the peace for Westmorland.

In 1536 he seems to have taken part in suppressing the insurrection known as the "Pilgrimage of Grace," for his name appears, with a *posse* of 24 retainers, among the knights, esquires, and gentlemen who promised to serve the King under Thomas, Lord D'Arcy, who later joined the rebels after yielding to them at Pontefract.

In the following year (1537) he appears to have come into conflict with some of his neighbours in Westmorland, for while hunting in Sizergh Park he was taken "by 200 persons," who caused him to be sworn to the custom of Kendal, apparently against his will and declared resolve. Apart from these two incidents Richard appears to have led much the same placid life as his grandfather, the second Sir Richard; and he died in 1544, having married Dorothy, daughter of William Layton of Daylemayne, by whom he left five sons and five daughters.

It is stated by Nicolson and Burn (vol. i., p. 204) that Edward Redman, father of Richard, "was the last of the name of Redman that we have met with at Levens, and the estate appears to have been sold about this time (1489)

. . . . At this time there was a flourishing family of the name of Bellingham at Burneshead, of a younger branch of which family one Alan Bellingham, Esquire, purchased Levens of one Redman by name, who then lived at Thornton, nigh Egleston (Ingleton?), Yorkshire."

How misleading this statement is the inquisitions on Richard Redmayne prove, for from them we find that at his death he was seized of the manor of "Lewyns" (1544) in addition to 40 messuages, 1,520 acres of land, and 40s. rent in Levens, Malynhall, Hyndcastle, Brythwaith, &c., Selsyde and Kirkby-in-Kendal, and of a capital messuage and lands in Hutton Ruff, which he grants to Richard Layton and others to the use of his younger sons Francis, Cuthbert, and Richard (Inq. taken at Appleby, 14th August, 36 Henry VIII., File 137, No. 3).

By an inquisition taken on the same day at Snayth, co. York, he was declared to have died seized of a moiety of the castle and manor of Harewood, and advowsons of the churches, chantries, &c., belonging to the said castle (File 241, 29).

MATTHEW.

That Levens remained still longer in Redman hands is proved by the account of his estates given to the escheator in 1548 by Richard's eldest son and successor Matthew Redman, according to which he was seized of Levens, with lands in Malynghall, Hind Castle, Birthwaite, and Kirby-in-Kendal, held of the King by knight's service; a moiety of the manor and castle of Harewood, and lands in Selside, Layton, Keswick, and Carleton in Yorkshire, held of the King *in capite (Harleian MSS.*, 4630, p. 484).

This Matthew, the sixth of his name in the direct line of succession, appears to have been as improvident as his ancestors were thrifty, and to have squandered with what must have been inexcusable prodigality the large estates which his predecessors had accumulated and preserved

during four centuries. It is certain that during his life both Levens and Harewood passed finally from Redman hands—the former after nearly four centuries and the latter after more than two centuries of ownership. It is impossible to fix the exact dates of this final severance from these ancestral estates, but it was probably in 1600 that the Harewood Castle and property were lost, and some years earlier that Levens was transferred to the Bellinghams.

Matthew Redman, the last of the long and illustrious line of Redman owners of Levens, married Bridget, daughter of Sir William Gascoigne, the third alliance of his family with the historic house of Gawthorpe.

Of Matthew's nine brothers and sisters,

(1) William appears as late as the year 1600, with his brother, in a fine relating to the castle and manor of Harewood and other lands in the same district.

(2) Francis is described as a priest.

(3) Cuthbert married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Oswald Wilstrop by Ann Redman, daughter of Thomas Redman of Bossall, and through her mother a descendant of the Lords Scrope of Bolton and Masham.

(4) Richard is mentioned in conjunction with his brothers Francis and Cuthbert in his father's inquisition referred to above.

(5) Elizabeth married (i.) Lawrence Lyndley of Lethely.
(ii.) Thomas Lyndley of Deane Grange.

(6) Ann became the wife of John Lambert, Esq., of Calton. Her daughter Ann married William Redmayne of Ireby, and her grandson, as mentioned earlier, was the great Parliamentary general John Lambert.

(7) Grace married Richard Travers, Esq., of Nateby, Lincolnshire.

(8) Mary was wife of Thomas Gargrave of Bolton in Craven; and

(9) Maud married Christopher Irton of Irton, Cumberland. (In the Irton pedigree, as given in Jefferson's *Allerdale-above-Derwent*, her name appears as "Margaret.")

Among the arms in the castle and church of Harewood were the following:—

IN THE CASTLE.

(1) Redman and Daincourt. Redman—Gules, 3 cushions ermine, buttons and tassels, Or. Daincourt—Arg. a fesse dancette, between 8 billets, Or.
(2) The Redman crest ("in the great chamber in Harwode Castle") —Out of a ducal coronet, a nag's head, gules.

And also the arms of Huddleston, Aldeburgh, Baliol, Ryther, Sutton, Thwenge, Bordesley or Grauncester, Aldeburgh and Sutton, Constable, Ros, Vipont and Galloway.

IN THE CHURCH.

(3) Redman and Aldeburgh. Aldeburgh—Gules, a lion rampant charged with a fleur-de-lys.
(4) Redman.
(5) Redman and Stapleton.
(6) Redman.

As also the arms of Thwayts and Ryther, Gascoigne, Mowbray, Pickering, Manston, Lord L'Isle of Rougemont, Stapleton, Gascoigne, Neville, and many others.

From the Redmans the manor and castle of Harewood passed to the Gascoignes, and from them through the Wentworths (including the great earl of Strafford), Sir John Cutler, the countess of Radnor, and John Boulter, Esq., to Henry Lascelles, Esq., ancestor of their present owner, the earl of Harewood.

Levens similarly passed through the hands of the Bellinghams by purchase to Colonel James Grahme (details of the purchase are, Major Bagot informs me, to be seen in the reports of the Historical MSS. Commission —House of Lords MSS., latest volume), and later by marriage with the Grahme heiress to the earls of Suffolk and Berkshire, and Lady Andover. Lady Andover's daughter and heiress married Richard Bagot, Esq., who assumed his wife's name of Howard, and from whom the estate descended to Major Joscelyn Fitzroy Bagot, M.P., its present owner.

Of the history of the Redmans of Levens and Harewood later than the year 1600 the records tell us little. With

Levens and Harewood lost, and with probably only a small remnant left to them of the vast estates which their ancestors had held in at least half-a-dozen counties, they were no longer able to maintain the position which had been theirs for five centuries, and their later history is more or less involved in obscurity.

Cuthbert, a younger brother of Matthew, the last owner of Levens, appears to have settled in the Whitby district, and to have had lands in Hutton Roof, Foxholes, Borrowby, and Lyth. In 1608 his son Wilstrop Redman, described as "late of Newton, formerly of York Castle," married Grace Leadbitter of Leeds.

Of the later Redmans of Yorkshire two became Lord Mayors of York—Charles (Lord Mayor in 1705) and William (Lord Mayor in 1714), who died in 1729; but they were probably descendants of Edward Redman of Thornton, whose son John bought lands and settled at Fulford, near York, in the sixteenth century. Of the Fulford branch, also, was Sir Matthew Redman, the seventh knight of the name,* of whose burial I find the following entry in the register of St. Mary's, Castlegate, York:—

Sir Matthew Redman, of Watter Fowforthe, wass buryed the XXV of Jeneuarye, in Fowforthe Churche, 1619.

This Sir Matthew appears to have been born in 1578. In 1600 he married Mary, daughter and heiress of William Grosvenor of York, and was knighted at Windsor on July 9th, 1603.

Of more recent Redmans of Westmorland the names of several appear in the list of mayors of Kendal:—Giles, 1649-50; Christopher, 1679-80; Giles, 1690-1;

* Mr. Oswald Barron, F.S.A., informs me that he identifies in Boece's description of the slain English leader at the Battle of the Sark in 1499 still another Sir Matthew Redmayne. The description is "Mahens rubenté jubá, eques auratus," which Mr. Barron translates as "Matthew Redmayne, a knight."

Christopher, 1695-6; Giles, 1725-6; and Christopher, 1749-50, 1760-1, and 1761-2 (Nicholson's *Annals of Kendal*).

After the collapse of the family fortunes at Levens and Harewood the Redman colony in the district of Thornton-in-Lonsdale flourished for at least a century, until through forfeiture and sub-division of estates it too shared something of the fate of the parent stock of Levens.

To-day the family, though few in numbers, is widely scattered. Although Redman blood flows in the veins of many of our noblest families of to-day, none of the bearers of the name, it is to be feared, have recovered the wealth and position their ancestors held so long and lost; but there are not wanting indications that at no very distant future the family will re-emerge into something at least of the prominence which for so many centuries made the name of Redman conspicuous in the annals of our northern counties.

* * * *

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Pedigree of Redmans, of Levens and Harwood Castle.

NORMAN DE REDMAN, ob. circ. 1184.
Dapifer Guarini, Ministr' Sancti Hosp. Jerusalem, son of Adam d'Avranches, Lord of Yealand and Silverdale.

- SIR HENRY = Daur. of ADAM (de Pennington) Dean of Lancaster.
  ob. circ. 1225. Lord of Levens, Selside, Lupton, &c. Seneschal of Kendal and Sheriff of Yorks.
  - BENEDICT one of the hostages of Gilbert Fitz Roger Fitz Reinfrid (1216).
  - SIR MATTHEW = AMABEL, daur. of Lord Stuteville.
    ob. circ. 1250. Seneschal of Kendal, &c. Glover's Roll of Arms, 1243-6.
    - HENRY = (?) An heiress of Camberton.
      ob. circ. 1292. Lord of Levens, Yealand, Trenterne, &c.
      - SIR MATTHEW = GODITHA, of Camberton, a descendant of Gospatric, Earl of Dunbar, and of Kings Ethelred II. and Malcolm II. (of Scotland).
        ob. circ. 1324. Knight of Shire for Westmorland and Lancashire. Commanded forces against Balliol and Bruce.
        - SIR MATTHEW = MARGARET (? Moriceby).
          ob. 1360. Sheriff of Cumberland, Governor of Carlisle Castle and Kt. of Shire for Westmorland.
          - SIR MATTHEW = (1) LUCY. (2) JOAN, daur. of Henry, Lord Fitzhugh and widow of William, Lord Greystock, and Anthony, Lord Lucy.
            ob. 1390. Governor of Roxburgh and Berwick; fought in France and Spain, and at Otterbourne (see Froissart and Grafton).
            - SIR RICHARD = (1) ELIZABETH, daur. and co-heiress of Wm. 2nd Lord Aldeburgh, and widow of Sir Brian Stapleton, ob. 1422. (2) ELIZABETH, daur. of Sir William Gascoigne, Lord Chief Justice of England, ob. 1434.
              ob. 1426. Of Harewood Castle and Levens; Sheriff of Cumberland and Yorkshire; Kt. of Shire and Speaker of House of Commons; fought at Agincourt (1415).
              - SIR MATTHEW = JOHANNA, daur. of Sir Thomas Tunstall, of Thurland Castle.
                ob. v.p. 1419.
              - RICHARD (of Bossall) vix. 1471.
                - Dr. RICHARD REDMAN, ob. 1505, Bishop of St. Asaph, Exeter and Ely.
              - JOAN = SIR THOMAS WENTWO
                - a quibus Earls of Strafford, &c.
            - FELICIA = SIR JOHN DE LUMLEY.
              - a quibus Earls of Scarborough, &c.
          - ADAM, of Yealand.
          - WILLIAM.
        - HENRY Benefactor of Cokersand Abbey (1300).
        - THOMAS next of kin of Alan, of Camberton (1307).
      - INGRAM } vix. 1254
        RANDLE }
        NICHOLAS vix. 1278.
      - JULIANA } vix. 1254.
        AGNES }
    - NORMAN.
    - THOMAS.
  - NICHOLAS.

SIR RICHARD = MARGARET, daur. of Thomas Middleton.
ob. 1476-7. Knight of Shire for Westmorland. Esq., a descendant of the Lords Berkeley, DeFerrers, Earls of Derby, &c.

- SIR WILLIAM = MARGARET, daur. of Sir Walter Strickland of Sizergh Castle.
  ob. 1483. M.P. for Westmorland.
  - HENRY = ALICE PILKINGTON.
    ob. v.p.
    - JANE = MARMADUKE, son of Sir William Gascoigne.
      b. 1507
      - MATTHEW = BRIDGET, daur. of Sir William Gascoigne, of Gawthorpe.
        b. 1528.
      - WILLIAM. FRANCIS. RICHARD.
  - RICHARD = DOROTHY, daur. of Wm. Layton, Esq., of Dalmain.
    inq. p.m. 1544.
    - ANN = JOHN LAMBERT, Esq., of Calton.
      - a quibus General John Lambert temp. Cromwell.
    - GRACE = RICHARD TRAVERS of Nateby (Lancs.)
    - MAUD = CHRIS. IRTON of Irton (Cumb.)
    - MARY = THOS. GARGRAVE, of Bolton-in-Craven.
  - HELEN
  - MAGDALEN
- SIR EDWARD = ELIZABETH, daur. of Sir John Huddlestone, of Millum Castle.
  ob. 1510. High Sheriff of Cumberland.
  (inq. p.m. 1530).
  - CUTHBERT = ELIZABETH, daur. of Sir Oswald Wilstrop, of Wilstrop.
- RICHARD.
- WALTER.
- ELIZABETH = — PRESTO of Preston and Lever

(TO FACE P. 306.)

BROUGHAM CASTLE.

Photo. by Mr. J. E. Morris.

TO FACE P. 307.

ART. XIX.—*Cumberland and Westmorland Military Levies in the time of Edward I. and Edward II.* By J. E. MORRIS, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.

Read at Penrith, August 28th, 1902.

THE fascination of history is most powerfully felt when we enter into detail; such detail can only be got from the public records. Mr. Bain did splendid work in his four volumes of *Documents relating to Scottish History*. Whatever I have here to bring before you is simply due to a wish to supplement his work. I have found that it has been useful to study at more length certain documents which he calendared somewhat shortly; and, moreover, the new catalogue in the Record Office is so well arranged that I have been able to examine documents which he could not find. It remains that Mr. Bain is the father of true research concerning Scotland and the Border.

The documents fall under the following heads:—(*a*) the pay-rolls of various campaigns, contained in the Exchequer Accounts, wherein are minutely given the payments to horse and foot; (*b*) horse-lists—*i.e.*, registers of the mounts of every mailed cavalryman in the King's pay, so that, if a horse was killed on the King's service, the value might be made good to the owner, such value being inserted together with the colour and points of each; (*c*) contracts made by lords or bannerets to serve the King for a stated time for stated wages; (*d*) official lists of the letters of protection—which were passports, so to speak—issued in the King's name to landowners who were proceeding to war, and proclaiming that the men who had such letters were under the King's protection up to a certain date: these are found in the *Rotuli Scotiæ* year by year, the official rolls on which are entered matters

relating specially to Scotland: *(c)* writs of summons to war, the marshal's registers of feudal service, and similar records. Besides Mr. Bain's calendar, there are the big volumes of Rymer's *Fœdera*, the Parliamentary Writs, the calendars of Patent and Close Rolls, and the Scotch Rolls which have been printed by the Records Commission. The documents which I have consulted independently I have indicated in notes. Special works are Mr. Gough's *Falkirk Roll* and Sir Harris Nicolas' *Siege of Caerlaverock*. It must always be remembered that the documents are not complete—sometimes we have the horse inventory of a campaign, sometimes the infantry pay roll, and such an important year as 1314 is entirely blank except for the lists of letters of protection. Thus we have to piece out our information as best we can from year to year.

I begin by offering some preliminary remarks on a typical Edwardian army. The feudal system gave to the King the unpaid service of heavy cavalry for forty days. But the feudal lords did not bring the whole number of horsemen, on consideration for whose service William I. had originally granted the lands. Edward I. accepted a quota in place of the whole—*e.g.*, an earl brought 30 to 50 lances all told, and the cavalry total amounted to 1,000 or 2,000 lances. Individual lords might serve before and after the forty days without pay; but, as a rule, the King paid for all non-feudal service. This was much more satisfactory, for the paid cavalry could be brigaded and disciplined more easily than the feudal, but was very expensive. By the reign of Edward III. feudal service practically disappeared. Of course, both the feudal lord and the captain of paid cavalry could recruit his men wheresoever he chose. On the contrary, the etiquette of the period as regards foot was fairly strict—the county militia was a defensive force, and if called outside the county was invariably paid, and those counties only were called upon to send foot which were nearest to the scene of war. Thus the brunt of the fighting in Wales fell on

the men of Lancashire, Cheshire, Salop, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, and the Welsh marches; but on important occasions these counties did provide foot for war in Scotland to strengthen the levies of the northern shires. The regular wages of the period were 4/- a day for a banneret, 2/- for a knight, 1/- for a trooper, and 2d. for an infantryman whether archer or foot spearman.

To come now to detail. In 1282, the year of the fiercest war in Wales, Alexander de Lindsay, baron of Kendal, served for pay with 10 horse and 80 Westmorland foot in the army which occupied Anglesey, this being a unique instance of northern foot brought to Wales; Roger de Clifford, husband of Isabella, who was the heiress of Brougham and Appleby, served with five lances. This army, probably 100 horse and 2,000 foot in all, crossed the Menai Straits by a bridge of boats, and was annihilated by Llewelyn somewhere near Aber. Both Lindsay and Clifford were slain.

In 1296 Edward I. invaded Scotland for the first time. Here we are introduced to a man who will figure largely in all expeditions up to his death at Bannockburn. Robert de Clifford, son of the Roger slain in Wales, began his career in arms in bringing to the English army a troop of fourteen lances, himself as banneret, two knights, and eleven troopers—a very fair average strength at that date. Robert l'Engleys was the millenar (or colonel) of Westmorland foot in the same army, though I cannot find whether he had as many as 1,000 men. Neither do I know whether Clifford and l'Engleys actually fought at Dunbar.*

After Wallace's victory at Stirling Bridge (September, 1297) the Westmorland men were busy in defending their own homes against the raiding Scots. At this moment the King was in Flanders. In the February of 1298 the Earl of Surrey commanded 700 horse and 21,000 foot in

* Exchequer Accounts, 5/23.

Northumberland, to which army Robert l'Engleys brought 1,400 foot. Hardly anything was done except that Berwick and Roxburgh, then held by the English, were relieved. Surrey's men seem to have been an inexperienced rabble and were disbanded, nor did Edward I. ever again summon so large a force of foot.*

In the summer of 1298 a wholly different army was led to victory at Falkirk by the King in person. The foot mustered 12,500 strong (that is to say, if all the men summoned actually appeared), and came from Wales and counties bordering on Wales. They were the men already disciplined by many wars, who had fought both against England and for England, whereas the northern foot were not summoned to this campaign, and had seen very little fighting hitherto. The heavy mailed cavalry I calculate (subject to correction) at 2,400 lances, paid and unpaid. Robert de Clifford now had a strong troop of 35 lances, himself, eight knights, and 26 troopers.† The knights were Simon de Clifford, John de Cromwelle, Robert de Haustede, Richard de Kirkebride, Roger de Kirkepatrik, James de Torthorald, Thomas de Hellebek, and Robert l'Engleys. It is interesting to note that two of these were Scots, and l'Engleys was no longer serving as millenar of foot. The troopers—I ought to add that these were indifferently styled *valetti* and *scutiferi*, both the young aspirants to knighthood and the plebeian troopers who never rose higher, drawing alike the regular 1/- a day—included John, Adam, and Thomas de Mounteny, Walter de Kirkebrid, Robert de Whiterigg, John l'Engleys, Nicholas de Vispont (Vipont or Veteripont), William de Hertela, and John de Teysedale (Teesdale). Two of these knights and six of the troopers had their horses killed in the battle of Falkirk—the record does not say whether the men were also killed. Two other knights and two troopers also lost their mounts later in the campaign. Clifford's

* *Ibid*, 7/2.

† *Ibid*, 6/40; see also Mr. Gough's *Falkirk Roll*.

own charger, or *dextrarius*—the *dextrarii* were powerful heavy animals usually imported from abroad, and were the ancestors of our shire horses or similar animals—cost £30; Simon rode an iron-grey valued at £20, l'Engleys a bay valued at £8. The troopers' mounts were *runcini* or rounseys, the lighter horses with which Chaucer has made us familiar—varying in price from £5 to £20, but the latter sum is quite exceptional for a rounsey. Meanwhile, independently of Clifford's troop, there were six Westmorland men in the army mounted on very cheap horses.

Strangely enough the Falkirk campaign was a failure in spite of the victory in pitched battle. The Earls of Hereford and Norfolk and their partisans haggled about the "confirmation of the charters," and Edward was unable to keep the field through summer and winter alike until the Scots were beaten. In Wales he had been always able to fight to a finish. War in Scotland was evidently unpopular—plenty of blows, short rations, and little plunder. Desertion was very common. In 1299 there was not even a summer campaign; in 1300 and in 1301 there was a bare two months' outing. At the siege of Caerlaverock, Clifford is said to have served; but the horse inventory of the year assigns to him only one knight and two troopers. Two thousand foot were summoned from Cumberland, but only 940 served; 1,000 from Westmorland, but only 732 served, and almost all the men returned home after a few days. This is hardly to be wondered at, for they wanted to protect their homes against the retaliating marauders. The foot of Yorkshire deserted in a body; no Welsh foot were requisitioned in these years.*

In 1303, the year of "the true conquest of Scotland," as Professor Tout calls it—for Edward kept the field continuously through that year and the next—the foot served as follows:—

* Exchequer Accounts, 8/20, 8/23; and, of course, compare Sir Harris Nicolas' edition of the poem on the siege.

	May 17, at Roxburgh.	June 25, at Perth.
Yorkshire	2712	2195
Cumberland	695	552
Westmorland	679	618
Lancashire	629	629
Northumberland	95	496
Derby and Notts	734	766*

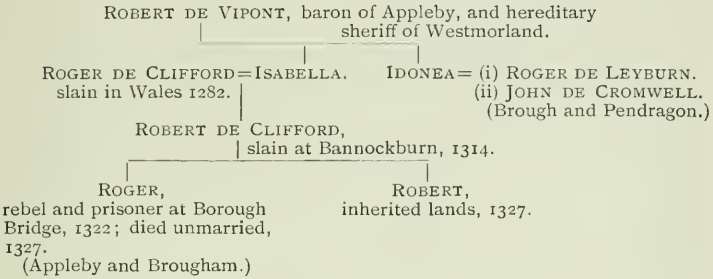
In 1307 we have a record of a few horse in pay with Edward II. very shortly after his father's death. Robert de Clifford had a troop of 17 lances; five knights, viz., William de Stopham, Bartholemew (*sic*), William le Latimer, William le Latimer of Bouthard, and Thomas le Latimer; eleven troopers, and amongst them John de Penrith. Also Henry de Appleby, knight, served with two troopers.†

There are no records of the next few years. Edward II. made his first effort in 1310. Robert de Clifford was superseded as warden of the march by John de Segrave, and was commissioned to raise a strong force of cavalry for offensive warfare. We find that he raised eight barons or bannerets and 26 knights, giving a total of some 150 lances at least. The following were his bannerets:—John de St. John, Robert de Monthaut (Chester), Thomas de Multon of Egremont, Thomas de Multon of Gilsland, Ingelram de Umfraville, Henry fitz Hugh (Richmondshire), Robert Hastang, John de Castre (who was frequently sheriff and commissioner of array—*i.e.*, was ordered to levy infantry—in Cumberland). Knights:—Nicholas de Vipont, John de Wigton, Adam de Swynburn, William de Rye, Nich. de Leyburn, Robert de Leyburn, William de Bayeux, Robert Haunsard, William de Penington, Robert de Hetolesal, Walter de Stirkland, Ralph de Albo Monasterio, Philip de Lindsay, John de Kirkby, John l'Engleys, William de Sheffield, Henry de Stanton, John Mauleverer, Henry Thorlgeld, John de

* Exchequer Accounts, 11/15.
† *Ibid*, 14/15.

Penrith, Richard de Kirkebrid, Richard de Quitfield, Richard de Musgrave, Thomas de Balliol, Thomas de Mounteny, John de Mounteny.*

It will be seen that many men who had previously served Clifford as troopers were now knights. The list is very interesting, and the names of Nicholas de Vipont and Nicholas and Robert de Leyburn pique one's curiosity. Were they relations of their commander? I hope that I shall not appear presumptuous in putting in the following pedigree for the sake of clearness :—



This force, then, was raised by Robert de Clifford in July, 1310; and was probably employed in engaging the Scots until the feudal host was ready the next September, when it would be merged in the latter. Many years later Robert's heir was pronounced quit of scutage for this year—*i.e.*, he had not to pay the sum which would have been owed to the Crown in case of his failure to serve. The King and army reached as far as Renfrew and Linlithgow, but the invasion was fruitless. John de Crumbwell (Cromwell, Idonea's second husband) served with five knights, including Andrew de Harcla, and eight troopers. Henry de Appleby also served.†

In 1311 Edward II. in vain tried to raise another army of invasion, for his barons were more intent on persecuting

* List of letters of protection in *Scotch Roll*, 4 Edward II.

† Feudal register in *Parliamentary Writs*, vol. ii.

Piers de Gaveston than on fighting Bruce. So he called upon Clifford and others to raise horse to defend the borders, and we find once more extant the list of Clifford's knights—viz., Thomas de Mounteny, John de Clif, Nicholas de Vipont, Nicholas de Leyburn, Thomas de Pickering, Mathew Redmayne, John Mauleverer, Thomas de Hellebek, Rob. Hansard, Ralph de Albo Monasterio, James de Ros, Thomas de Sheffield, John de Penrith, Robert de Askeby; and amongst the troopers, Thomas de Balliol, Richard de Musgrave, John de Boys, John l'Engleys, William de Vipont, Richard Gernet, John Redmayne, Roger de Stirkland.

I cannot at all understand why three of these were entered as knights in 1310 and as troopers in 1311, nor in which document the error arose. The whole force was exactly 50 lances. The horses were inventoried November 3rd, and ten knights and ten troopers lost their mounts in a fight "*apud* Faringley" or Farenley,* which is just across the border in Scotland.

Clifford now returned to Carlisle as his headquarters. Gilbert de Bromley, who had with him a small independent troop of two knights (Thomas de Torthorald and William de la Beche) and a few troopers, was paymaster and agent for the commissariat. He paid Clifford sometimes in coin, sometimes in victuals—a banneret who took the King's pay had to find his own victuals if he was paid in full, and if victuals were served out to him the cost was deducted from his pay—recompensed the soldiers whose horses died or were killed on service, brought up stores from Drogheda and Waterford, and forwarded convoys to the English garrisons in the castles of Dumfries and Lochmaben in Scotland. A few more heavy cavalry, half-a-dozen light hobelars, and 100 archers were in garrison over and above Clifford's fifty. I think it is clear that Bruce had grown so powerful at this date that,

* Exchequer Accounts, 14/15; see Bain, vol. iii., No. 278.

far from being the desperate fugitive of 1307, he was beginning to overawe and raid the northern counties of England. This is the first year when so large a defensive force had to be maintained at Carlisle.

A very notable man now comes on the scene—Andrew de Harcla. We saw a minute ago that he served as Cromwell's knight in the feudal army of 1310, and he was sent to Parliament in 1312 as knight of the shire for Cumberland. In November, 1312, he was commissioned to take Clifford's place as custos of the town of Carlisle, and the next April of the castle. He held his post without intermission for ten years, and for three of these years he was also sheriff of Cumberland. Gilbert de Bromley was still paymaster, and the work which fell to Andrew to perform was to defend the two counties against Bruce's raiders, and also to victual and help the English garrisons in the south of Scotland. But the castle of Dumfries was surrendered to Bruce, February 7th, 1313, by "Duugal M'Douwille." One John atte Grave with twenty archers managed to escape, and was at once taken into pay in the garrison of Carlisle. Andrew, though placed in a responsible position, was only a knight bachelor at this date. John de Lancaster de Holgill and Ralph de Bulmer were his knights and lieutenants, and amongst his troopers are to be found the following new names:—Richard Champneys, Elie le Couherde, Robert de Lowther, William and Robert de Rosegill, Nicholas de Brome, and Owen de Penrith. The garrison averaged 30 men-at-arms, 12 hobelars, and 120 archers.*

An interesting point is now presented to us—what share did Idonea take in maintaining the defence of Westmorland? Up to 1310 she had held the position of joint hereditary sheriff of Westmorland, but was of less authority than her sister Isabella or (after Isabella's death) of her nephew Robert. It is well known that Isabella or Robert

* *Ibid*, 14/15 and 14/22.

appointed a deputy-sheriff, and Idonea assented. But from 1310 onwards Robert is sole sheriff.* Moreover, Andrew de Harcla held the castle of Pendragon, which belonged to Idonea, at a nominal rent paid to Robert, and when the latter died at Bannockburn the inquisition on his lands after his death mentioned Pendragon as his. I fancy we can work up the sequence of events as follows:—Idonea was acknowledged as joint sheriff as long as her second husband John de Cromwell lived, or was capable of manfully defending her castles. Then the Crown saw that these castles must be garrisoned by some strong man, and an arrangement was made by which Robert de Clifford, the nephew, was responsible for their defence as if they were his own, and he put Andrew de Harcla, who had been Cromwell's knight and whose own land of Hartley was very close, to be custodian of Pendragon. The time was critical, and a woman could not organise armies against the Scots.

Thus we come to the fatal year of 1314. We are quite in ignorance of the number of the English army at Bannockburn, merely having the writs of summons of 21,500 foot, and it is far from certain that all this force answered to the summons. According to the *Scotch Roll*, 7 Edward II., Robert de Clifford had letters of protection for twelve followers—apparently all of them knights—and thus had a full retinue of some 50 lances in all. Their names are:—Nicholas de Leyburn, Miles de Stapleton, William Tailleboys, Robert de Leyburn, Thomas de Mounteny, John Nowel, Richard de Huddleston, William de Penington, Robert de Styneton, John de Mauleverer, William de Sturneton, and Mathew Redmayne. His comrade-in-arms, Henry de Beaumont, had protections for some thirty followers.

Andrew de Harcla had not marched with the army to Bannockburn, and on him fell the task of defending the

* See these *Transactions*, vol. iv., pp. 291, &c.

two counties after the rout. He certainly did all that man could do, and saved Carlisle when besieged by Bruce. In July he commanded a force of about 100 men-at-arms of all ranks, 46 hobelars, and 326 archers. Sixteen of the hobelars and 30 archers were Irish. His knights were: —Thomas de Torthorald, Patrick de Colewenn (Curwen), Robert de Bampton, Henry de Malton, John de Lancaster, and Robert Tillol. Meanwhile Thomas de Richmond held Cockermouth with 20 men-at-arms, 10 crossbow-men, and 80 archers.

Sallying from Carlisle early in August, Andrew met the Scots in the pass below Stainmoor, and lost 25 horses in a fight near "le Redecros." In the autumn he was slightly reinforced by the arrival of Thomas de Huwys and John de Lamplough with a few retainers. Another fight occurred in November at Penresax, and 11 horses were killed. Where is Penresax? Can Pendragon be meant? Thomas de Torthorald was present at both of these cavalry engagements and lost his horse each time, and amongst the troopers who were unhorsed were Gilbert de Colewenn (Curwen) and Richard de Thurlewal (Thirlwall). On another occasion Andrew must have made a counter-raid into Scotland with some success, for he carried off 65 bulls and 35 cows, which he sold to Gilbert de Bromley for £40 8s. 2d. The cost of holding Carlisle for five months after Bannockburn came to £1,775, not counting the victuals served out to the men in lieu of pay. Next year (1315) the numbers were slightly reduced—three knights, 60 troopers, 45 hobelars, and 280 archers. But for one month, the Scots evidently being over the Border on one of their usual raids, the force was raised to 83 men-at-arms, the same 45 hobelars, and 395 archers. In the summer of 1316 we have four knights, 32 troopers, 27 hobelars, 13 crossbow-men, and 60 archers.* The leader of one company of archers was Gilbert de Bourgh

* *Ibid*, 14/15, 14/31, 14/32; Bain, vol. iii., No. 403.

or de Borugh, who came, one may suppose, from Brough. Here these documents come to an end entirely. Yet I think it will be seen from the facts that Andrew was doing his work manfully in maintaining his charge in the blackest years of English history—the years after the rout of Bannockburn, when the nobles of England seemed to care nothing for the honour of their country, and only lived to worry the poor King; while the King cared only for favourites, and the northern counties had to defend themselves as best they could. I append specimen entries from the documents :—

EXCHEQUER ACCOUNTS, 14/31 AND 14/32.

(SPECIMEN EXTRACTS.)

Dn̄o Andr' de Harcla militi and iij soc' ſuis militibꝫ, l ħōībꝫ ad arma, xxx hobelar', & c sagittar' quoꝝ nōia patent in quad cedula huic libro anexa, morantibꝫ in munitōē ville Karłłi ab viii° die Julii anno viii° incipiente usqꝫ xxviii diem Septembr̄ anno eodem utroqꝫ die comp̄ ꝑ $\frac{xx}{iiij}$. iij dies, quołt milite ꝑcipiente ꝑ diem ij s̄, quołt hoīe ad arma ꝑ diem xij d, quołt hobelar' ꝑ diem vj d, & quołt sagittar' ꝑ diem ij d ꝑ vadiis suis

	c	s̄	d
s^{u}m	iij. lxxij łr,	ij,	iiij.

Restauratō equorum ꝑditoꝝ in s'uitō ℞ in cōitia dm̄ Andr' de Harcla in eq'itatã sr' Scotos iux le Redecros suꝑ Steynmor iiij^{to} die augi⁹ anno p'ſente viij°.

Henr' de Bromle ꝑ restꝝ uni' equi ſui ferrand' pomele app't ꝑ se ipō ꝑditi in s'uitō ℞ ibid in ead eq'tatã eod die . . . x łi. xiij^{s}. iiij^{d}.

Dn̄o Thome de Torthorald militi ꝑ restauro uni⁹ dextr̄ ſui nigri cū j pede ant'iori albo ꝑditi in s'uitō ℞ in ead' eq'tatã ibid eod die . . . xx mr.

Item debent^{r} hōībꝫ sbsc'pt^{s} de munitōe ville Karłłe ꝑ restauro equoꝝ ꝑditoꝝ in s'uitō ℞ in equitatã apud Pen'ſax mense Novembr̄ anno p'ſente viij°, vidꝫ

Dnō Thom̄ de Thorthorald militi p restaur' uni⁹ dextr[a] ſui albi pomele (&c. as above) x li.

Recept de Dño Andrew de Harcla pro lxx quart frī p't' quart' viij s, xxviij li; iij dol flor p't' dol l s, vij li x s; xxvij dol vini p't' dol iiij li, cviij li; cc quart auenae p't' quart' iij s, xxx li; eidem vend ſup vad ſuis tam hom̄ suoz ad arma q[a]m peditū . . . . clxxiii li xs.

De Gilbto de Borugh & ſociis ſuis pedit' p xvi q[a]r frī & xx dol' vini . . . . . $\frac{xx}{iiij}$. vj li, xij s.

Some of these entries have been calendered by Mr. Bain.

(TRANSLATION.)

Paid to Andrew de Harcla, knight, and to his three comrades, knights, 50 men-at-arms, 30 hobelars, and 100 archers, whose names appear in a slip attached to this account, posted in garrison at Carlisle from July 8 in the 8th year (of Edward II.) up to September 28, each day included, for 83 days, each knight receiving two shillings a day, each man-at-arms one shilling, each hobelar sixpence, and each archer twopence for their wages; £372-2-4.

Money paid for horses lost in the King's service in the retinue of Sir Andrew de Harcla in his cavalry expedition against the Scots near the Redecross on Stainmoor, August 4 in this present 8th year (1314);

viz, to Henry de Bromley for his iron-grey (literally "dappled") horse valued for him and lost in the King's service then in that expedition £10-13-4;

to Sir Thomas de Torthorald for his black charger with one front foot white (&c as above), 20 marcs.

Also owed to the undermentioned men of the garrison of Carlisle in recompense for horses lost in the King's service in an expedition at Penresax in the month of November in the present 8th year,

viz to Sir Thomas de Torthorald for his white-grey charger (&c), £10.

Received from Sir Andrew de Harcla for 70 quarters of wheat at 8/- per quarter, £28; for 3 barrels of flour at 50/- per barrel, £7-10/; for 27 casks of wine at £4 per cask, £108: for 200 quarters of oats at 3/- per quarter, £30; sold to the same and charged to the wages of both his men-at-arms and his foot . . . £173.

From Gilbert de Brough and his comrades, foot soldiers, for 16 quarters of wheat and 20 casks of wine . . . £86-12-0.

I take it that since the death of Robert de Clifford at Bannockburn, his heir being only 15 years old, his castles of Appleby and Brougham were held in the King's name by Andrew de Harcla. My next document refers to the castle of Brough which, like Pendragon, was part of the inheritance of Idonea. Doubtless the King's advisers felt that an important fortress ought to be guarded by more powerful hands, for it will be remembered that the Scots had once penetrated as far as the "Redecros" in the Stainmoor Pass, and Brough ought to dominate the Westmorland mouth of that pass. Accordingly the castle was entrusted to Robert de Welle, knight—*a qui le dit chastel est et qui ad la garde du meisme cal*, namely, *Burgh soutz Esteynesmore*. It may be that he was a knight in the service of Idonea, and that he had already been in command; but the document tells us that he entered in his own name into a contract with the royal officials *pour le sauue et sure garde du dit chastel et du pays enuirom*. He was to maintain 15 men-at-arms and 20 hobelars, of whom 10 men-at-arms and 10 hobelars were to be in the King's pay, and the remainder were to be at his own charge. This looks as if he were drawing whatever revenue could be raised from the lands, either for himself or for Idonea. It is a very interesting point, and I cannot say that I know any other case where the Crown paid the wages of more than half the garrison of a private castle. Only in cases of minority or of lands confiscated for treason did the Crown thus interfere, and I presume that, as in the previous case of Pendragon, owing to extreme urgency—Bruce being at the height of his power and causing a reign of terror along the Border, and Idonea being weak—the Crown had to see that a competent soldier held Brough. The contract was sealed by Robert de Welle in November, 1316, for one year, and was doubtless renewed periodically. The contracting party on the King's behalf was John de Castre, whom we have mentioned above as a banneret serving under Robert de

Clifford, and who was at various periods sheriff and commissioner of array for Cumberland. The pay was issued by Stephen le Blount, keeper of the King's stores at Newcastle—at least up to February, 1318. Therefore the garrison was clearly independent of Andrew de Harcla. The following is the muster of the men-at-arms in the King's pay:—Robert de Welle, knight; Thomas de Hellebek, knight; Roger and John de Burnolheued (Burnishead or Burneside), Henry de Redmayne, John de Astenthwait, Richard de Bromley, William Couenale, Robert Russel, John Theobald le Marechal; and amongst the men maintained at the captain's own charge were John l'Engleys and Edmund de Hellebek. Twice occurred a skirmish—one at Loghm, where five horses were killed; the other at Dalblayn, where one horse was killed. I should identify the former with Lochmaben, and it would seem that Robert de Welle and his men, probably co-operating with Andrew de Harcla, made some retaliatory expeditions into Scotland. I append the contract in its original Norman-French.

Ibid $\frac{15}{13}$. Six separate slips of parchment are filed together.

m 1 is a memorandum.

m 2. Ce sount les Chyuaus q̄ monſ Robt de Well ad p̄du en le ſuice le Roy entre le premier Iour de March & le v iour de Iun laun de Regne nr̄ Seign̄ le Roy dyme..

m 3. Appreciatio equorum hominum morantium in comitiva Dm Robti de Welle dm̄ castri de Burgo subtus Staynesmore in munitione eiusdem castri ad vadia dm̄ Regis.

m 4. A note to say that 5 men-at-arms being at Robert's own cost their horses are not valued.

m 6. Fut aremembrer q̄ come ordeynez foit q̄en le Chaſtel de Burgh soutz Esteyneſmor p^r la sauuve & sure garde du dit Chastel & du pays enuirom deyuent demorer xv homes darmes & xx hobelours, monſ Robt de Welle a qui le dit

Chaſtel eſt & qui ad la garde du meisme cal ad empris de trouer tottes les dites gentz du ꝑmier iour de Decembr̄ ꝓſchein auenir tantqa la Natiuite de Seint Iohan le Baptiſtre ou par vn an entier si meſtier soit, des quieux v homes darmes & x hobelours serront a ses cuſtages demeſne p^r^ la garde de meiſme le chaſtel, & p^r^ le remenant cest aſauoir x homes darmes & x hobelours ꝑndra il de n̄re seign^r^ le Roy gages acuſtomez cest aſauoir p^r^ home darmes xij d & p^r^ hobelour iiij d le iour, des quieux gages yl serra paiez le xv iour de Decembr̄ a Eu̅wyk p^or^ vn q̄rt del an & eusi de q̄rt en q̄rt tant come les dites gentz y demorront, & est asauoir q̄ les cheuaux des auantditz x homes darmes serront ꝓſez par les miniſtres nre^9^ seign^r^ le Roy & aueront reſtor de ceux q̄ se p.ront en le seruice le Roy par le temps auantdit. En teſmoignante de quieu choſe eſt faite ceſte endente^r^ sealee du ꝑne seal n̄re seign^r^ le Roy & du seal le dit Mon^r^ Robt entrechangeablement. (Nov. 16, 1316.)

Whenever we find a man-at-arms mentioned it is to be understood that a mailed warrior mounted on a "covered" war horse is meant. Knights were undoubtedly completely mailed, and their horses were "covered" with iron. Esquires and troopers probably wore less armour, and substituted boiled leather for iron both for themselves and their mounts. As soon as ever a horse was unable to carry its own armour and its armoured rider the wage of a shilling a day was lowered. Such horses were valued by the inventories as mentioned. We have just had occasional mention of hobelars. These were light riders on light ponies or hobbies. I will now sketch briefly the genesis of light cavalry on the Border.

In all the wars of Edward I. heavy cavalry of the kind just described were used—any rare light horsemen in his armies were Welsh or Irish auxiliaries—and the first use of the word hobelar, as far as my knowledge goes, is in connection with special Irish scouts brought over to Cumberland in the days of Wallace. Bruce improved on

Wallace's methods of war. He had his solid schiltrome or phalanx of spearmen for pitched battle, and his pony-mounted raiders for avoiding battle and harrying the English. Who has not heard of Bruce's terror-spreading raids in Durham and Yorkshire, of his light horsemen with their bags of oatmeal and girdles, immortalised by Jehan le Bel, the chronicler from Hainault, who came over with Queen Philippa and saw the campaign in the first year of Edward III., and from whom the then unborn Froissart drew his account? Yet, just as Thomas de Grey defended Norham against all odds in Northumberland, so Andrew de Harcla and Robert de Welle were doing their best on this side. I think we can go even further, and say that Andrew was definitely and systematically organising a force of English pony-mounted hobelars to match the Scots at their own game. Edward II. did little or nothing to help his subjects. He allowed Berwick to fall for want of provisions, and obstinately "preferred infantry" when he took the field. In 1319 an army was raised to recapture Berwick, and in the September of that year there were in arms 6,152 foot (including 1,400 Yorkshiremen and 2,400 Welsh), 53 crossbow-men, and 831 hobelars. To this muster Andrew de Harcla brought 980 foot and 381 hobelars; Robert de Welle, 20 archers and 40 hobelars; Hugh de Lowther, 28 archers and 25 hobelars. Thus Cumberland and Westmorland supplied one-sixth of the foot, and just over one-half of the light cavalry.* It is clear that these men had their wits about them, and were organising well for the defence of the march. Edward III. afterwards organised the horse archers (an ideal mounted infantry, who in course of time redeemed England's military honour), but before his reign is the age of the hobelars —light lancers mounted on fell ponies, encumbered with no body armour, and drawing 4d. or 6d. a day as their

* *Ibid*, 15/27.

pay. Until they were superseded by the horse archers they were the most useful soldiers of any English army, and Andrew de Harcla appears to have done most to utilise them.

Andrew was at the height of his fame when, in 1322, he outmanœuvred and completely broke the power of Earl Thomas of Lancaster at Boroughbridge in Yorkshire. Though cousin to the King, Thomas had been the most serious opponent of the Crown. With him fought and was taken prisoner Roger de Clifford, son and heir of Robert. May we not fairly trace cause and effect here? Jealous of Andrew, sore that he was not recognised as sheriff of Westmorland (for since Robert's death the duty of the sheriffwick had been discharged by deputy —Hugh de Lowther, Walter de Strickland, Patrick de Curwen, Henry de Threlkeld, or Henry de Warcop in turn), perhaps disgusted that castles which were his by inheritance were garrisoned by others, Roger joined the rebels. He was condemned to death, but was respited. Now at least, even if I am wrong in my conjecture that it had been the case earlier, the castles of Appleby and Brougham, as well as Pendragon, were definitely held by Andrew de Harcla as the result of Clifford's rebellion. The victor was made Earl of Carlisle. Not often has a simple and obscure knight risen by sheer force of military talent to so high a rank.

Profiting by the extirpation of the English rebels, Edward II. raised an army to invade Scotland in 1322. I have neither time nor space for details. Suffice it to say that he openly "preferred infantry," and even went so far as to prefer heavy armour-clad foot spearmen to archers. For the very first time in history these footmen were drawn from every county of England, as well as from Wales and the Welsh marches, and they mustered 15,000 strong. Bruce refused to fight a second Bannockburn. He simply allowed the English to starve on the dreary moorlands, and a mere fraction of the miserable

host returned over the Border. Following up smartly with his pony-mounted raiders he all but captured Edward in Yorkshire. Panic spread all over the northern counties. It is painful to read of the fate of Andrew de Harcla. The faithful warden of Cumberland and Westmorland doubtless felt that he could no longer serve a King who was so utterly incompetent as a warrior. Edward was simply ruining England. Therefore the north-country lords must look after their own interests themselves. So he offered to make terms with Bruce, but he miscalculated his power. His own comrade-in-arms, Antony de Lucy, was ordered to arrest him ; and arrest him he did, quietly and without recourse to arms. Andrew was degraded with all the marks of ignominy—hung and quartered.

So I come to my most interesting document*, which gives the strength of the garrisons, whether in the royal castles or in Clifford's, when Antony de Lucy seized them in the King's name after Andrew's arrest. There are two fragments, separated by some accident, but obviously parts of one whole. The ink is very faint, yet I am sure of my names and figures. The heading runs thus:—" Particulars of Sir Antony de Lucy both of the garrisons of the castles and peels of the King in his custody within the march of Carlisle after the capture of Sir Andrew de Harcla in the month of February of the 16th year (1323), and of the expenses of various horses of the King which were with the aforesaid Andrew in the same year." Antony himself drew a banneret's wage of 4/- a day, and money as below for men—viz.,

	Knights.	Men-at-arms.	Hobelars.	Foot.
Carlisle	5 ...	34 ...	40 ...	40
Naworth.....	0 ...	1 ...	0 ...	12
Cockermouth	0 ...	2 ...	3 ...	4
Egremont	0 ...	1 ...	(?) ...	3

* *Ibid*, 16/9 and 16/13.

	Knights.	Men-at-arms.	Hobelars.	Foot.
Appleby	0	10	30	0
Brougham	1	11	10	16
Mallustang..... (Pendragon)	0	1	2	2 or 11 (?)
Heyheued ..... (Highhead)	0	4	6	6
Total ...	6	64	91 (plus ?)	83 or 92 (?)

Brough was still in all probability garrisoned independently by Robert de Welle.

The following is a transcript of the original, and includes Lucy's claim for payment of expenses :—

Ibid $\frac{16}{9}$: back. Ꝑticle dm̄ Antonii de Lucy tam de munitoībȝ castroꝝ & peloꝝ ℞ in custodia suo ēxn̄tiū infra marchiam Carłłe post captōēm dm̄ Andr' de Harcla mens' ffebr' anno xvj° q̊m de expn̄ dui'forꝝ equorꝝ ℞ qui fuer̄t dti Andr' anno eodem.

Idem Anton custos castri Karłłi petit ꝑ vadiis ſuis qu^{n}qȝ militū, xxxiiij scutiferoꝝ, xl hobol' & xl pedit' morant' secū in munitiōn̄ dti castri de Karłłi int' xxv diem ffebr' anno xvi° quo die capt' fuit Andreas de Harcla et xxix diem Maii quo die firmata fuit treuga anno eodem utroqȝ die comput' ꝑ $\frac{xx}{iiij}$. xiiij dies ipso banereto ꝑcipiente ꝑ diem iiij s̃ quołt milite ij s̃, quolt scutifero xij d, quołt hobel' vi d, quołt pedite ii d ꝑ vadiis ſuis ꝑ idem temp^{q}

cccl łi. xviij s̃ & viij d.

Itm̄ idem Antoni^{q} petit ꝑ expens' xxxiiij equoꝝ qui fuer̄nt Andr' de Harcla a xxv^{to} die ffeb̄r anno rr' E. xvi° usqȝ xxx^{m} Iunii anno eodm̄

cxliij łi. xs̃. iiij d.

Idm̄ Antoni^{q} petit liij łi. vi s̃ viij d, quos lib̄ dn̄o Ioħi de Louthr' custodi victuał dm̄ ℞ in ꝑtibȝ Karłi ꝑ łram ipīus̄ Reg' & indenturā int' dtm̄ Antoniū & dtm̄ dnm̄ Ioħm de Louthr'.

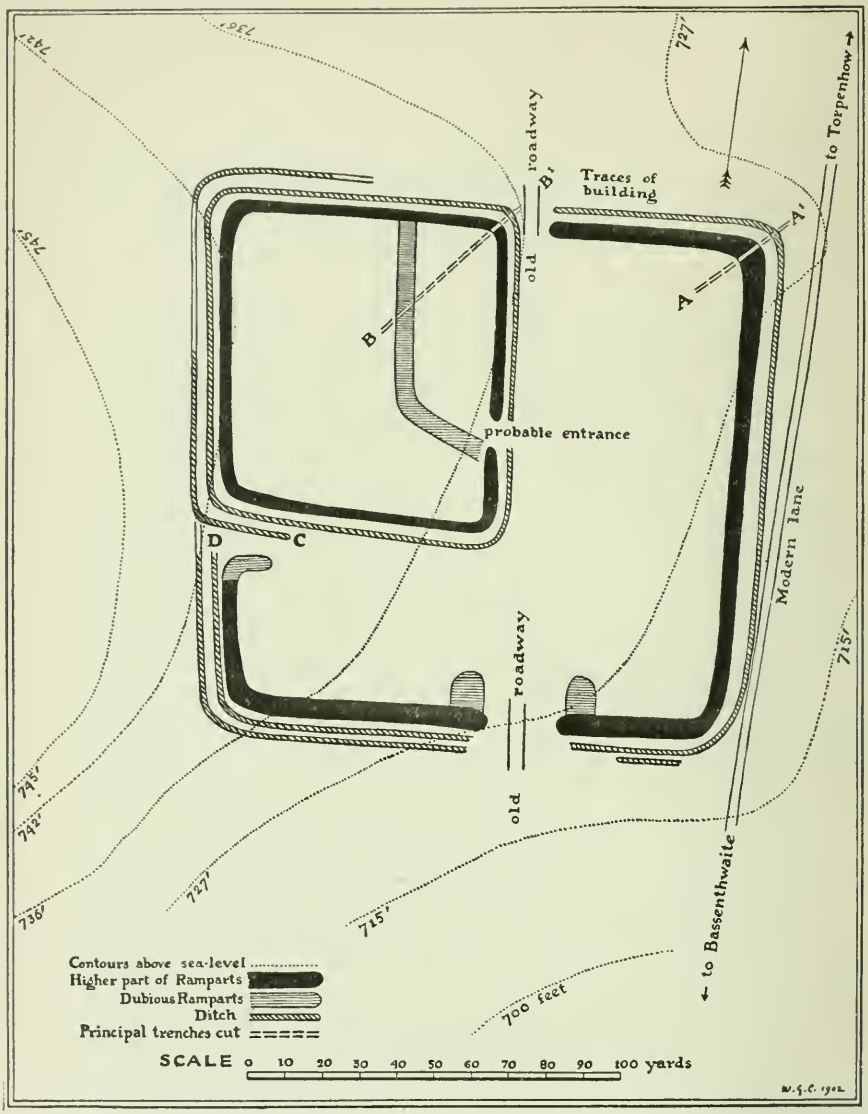
Peace was at last made with Bruce on May 29th, 1323. The garrisons were at once largely reduced, and Patrick de Curwen as deputy-sheriff took over Appleby. The wretched reign came to an end in a manner yet more wretched, and the upstart Mortimer ruled England. But he was overthrown, and on Bruce's death came the dawn of better things. The lands of rebels were restored to their heirs, and Robert de Clifford entered into possession when Roger, his elder brother and the rebel at Boroughbridge, died unmarried in 1327. Here let us leave the wars of the Borders in expectation of better days, when Halidon Hill and Neville's Cross will amply restore England's military prestige.

ART. XX.—*Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee for 1902.* By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A., Scot.

THE work done by the Cumberland Excavation Committee in the ninth successive year of its activity concerned two sites. In Mid-Cumberland a camp near Caermot, in the parish of Torpenhow,* was provisionally explored, and on the Wall the researches of 1900-1 near Castlesteads were continued and practically completed. In both cases definite results were obtained. The Torpenhow camp was proved to be definitely a Roman site, though perhaps occupied only for a little while. The Vallum at Castlesteads was found to run roughly parallel with the Wall, in its usual manner, east and west of the fort; but in the actual neighbourhood of the fort to deviate southwards, so as to enclose the fort between itself and the Wall. Both these results are new, and both are archæologically important. The interpretation of earthen camps like that near Torpenhow has hitherto been very much a matter of guessing, and we have lacked proper *criteria;* we now obtain, at least, some definite facts. The interpretation of the Vallum has equally proceeded without full knowledge, and in particular the course of this strange work near the forts has been little understood, and serious mistakes have been made in relation to it. We now obtain one more definite instance of its line. We may claim this year to have distinctly advanced the knowledge of Roman Cumberland and the Roman Wall.

As in previous years, we have been greatly helped by the kindness of landowners and farmers, who have given

* Pronounced, and anciently sometimes spelt, Torpenno.



CAMP HILL, NEAR CAERMOT.

AA1, BB1, Principal Trenches.
C, End of Ditch fixed by Excavation.
D, Dubious: see text.

us all necessary permissions with much readiness. The vicar of Torpenhow, the Rev. C. H. Gem, especially aided our work in that parish, by granting leave to excavate on his glebe and finding labour. At and near Castlesteads we were much indebted to the Earl of Carlisle, to Mr. F. P. Johnson of Castlesteads, who allowed us every facility and rendered much kindly aid, to the Rev. C. P. Calvert of Sandysike, and further to Mr. Richardson of Wintershields, Mr. J. Mounsey of Hill Field, Mr. A. Gillespie of Irthing House, Mr. Robert Law of Irthington, Mr. Waugh of Hurtleton, Mr. Jardine and Mr. Gillespie of Newtown, and Mr. Hetherington of Irthington Mill. Mr. G. B. Grundy, of Brasenose College, Oxford, and Mr. Hodgson gave us valuable assistance in surveying the Torpenhow site ; Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson again helped effectively by laying down the trenches near Castlesteads, and preparing a plan of their positions and the lines of the Wall and Vallum, and Mr. Collingwood helped us very kindly in preparing the plan of the Torpenhow Camp.

I.—Camp Hill, Torpenhow.

Among the western outliers of the Skiddaw range is a high ridge which rises steeply to the south of Torpenhow and Bothel. On the top of this ridge is the rocky eminence of Caermot, which, despite its name, seems never to have been fortified by man, and a little north of it a small irregular earthwork called the Battery.* Southwards, the ridge slopes sharply down to the north end of Bassenthwaite Lake, and on this southern slope, a little way from the summit and perhaps 70 feet below it, is Camp Hill Field. This is an expanse of 70 acres, formerly part of Torpenhow common land, and at the enclosures assigned to the vicar as glebe. It adjoins the road from

* As the names are now used, Caermot, the Battery, and Camp Hill denote three distinct spots. Caermot may in old times have denoted more than it does now, and may have included either the Battery or Camp Hill. But the history of the name is obscure, and it is safest to follow present use.

Torpenhow village to Bewaldeth and Bassenthwaite, and in it, close to the same road, is the "camp" which gives it its name.

The camp has received due notice from antiquaries, but with unsatisfactory results. It was first detected in the eighteenth century by Thomas West of Ulverston (*Guide to the Lakes*, first ed., 1778). He assumed it to be Roman and described it, not quite correctly, as "a square encampment with a double foss, extending from east to west 120 paces, and from north to south 100 paces . . . traversed by the [Roman] road from Keswick to Old Carlisle." This account was copied bodily by Hutchinson, but nothing was added till, in 1855, Benjamin West wrote to the London Society of Antiquaries deploring "the disappearance of the double foss," and exhibited specimens of "the vitrified foundations" of its ramparts and drawings of two bronze utensils found within it (*Proceedings*, 1855, p. 224).* Twenty years later, Mr. W. Jackson of St. Bees recalled attention to the camp, which he identified with a Roman camp alleged by one or two earlier writers to exist near Ireby, which is near Torpenhow.† In 1881, Mr. J. Robinson of Maryport dug some trenches; outside the camp on the north he discovered foundations of rude buildings, "over three stones" of melted lead, some iron nails, charcoal, and decayed bricks, but nothing that he recognised as Roman.‡ The account of his work in these *Transactions* was illustrated by an indifferent plan, and a worse one, an utter travesty of the actual remains, was inserted in the second edition of the Ordnance Maps of the neighbourhood issued in 1900. Two facts emerge at the end of this retrospect. In the first place, the Roman character of the site, though almost invariably assumed, has been assumed without any evidence to support it. In the

* I have tried in vain to trace these specimens and drawings.
† These *Transactions*, iii., 43, 243-5.
‡ *Ibid*, vi.. 191; see following footnote.

second place, no accurate and detailed account of the site has yet been compiled. In the following paragraphs I propose to attempt such an account, so far as our examination and excavation permits. But I must premise that our work was intended only to ascertain a few important points, and much was of set purpose left untouched.

The camp stands on a comparatively level site, with a wide prospect southwards, but with no other outlook. It seems never to have been ploughed, but the Torpenhow and Bassenthwaite road cuts into the eastern defences, and the ground immediately outside part of its north front has been at some time or other much disturbed. It consists of two parts, (A) a large rectangular camp with rounded angles, and (B) a smaller rectangular camp with rounded angles standing within it, occupying its north-western corner, and using its exterior ramparts. Traces of rude buildings (C) are also visible just outside the north-east front.

(A) The larger camp measures about 400 feet from east to west and slightly less from north to south across the centre of its area, and contains about $3\frac{2}{3}$ acres. It is defended by an earthern rampart, much worn down, but still traceable on the surface all round. Outside the rampart is a berm and a double ditch—the latter still recognisable along the south, west, and part of the north sides. Earth from the outer ditch has seemingly been thrown up outside it, so that there is a lower outer mound, which (as it were) accentuates it. The total width of these defences, measured along the present surface from the inside of the rampart to the outer mound, is about 70-75 feet. The rampart at present appears to be quite 20 feet wide, but it may have "spread" in the course of years; the width of the berm is uncertain; the ditches seem to have been each some 10 feet wide. The rampart, as we ascertained by trenching at and near its north-east corner, consisted of earth and not of stone. Its strata were—at the bottom, on the original surface line, much

wood (mostly oak and birch, but one stem of fir or larch) laid horizontally; above and round that, some black matter; then, two or three layers of bleached earth with dark lines 2-2½ inches apart, and on the top the gravel which forms the general subsoil of the site. The bleached earth and dark lines represent turves, such as have been found in the Birdoswald Turf Wall and elsewhere, and the construction of the rampart is plain. First a layer of brushwood was laid down, probably to provide a rude foundation, for it is a damp spot; then turves, taken off in digging the ditches, were laid on, and finally the gravel subsoil from the same ditches was piled up above. A few pieces of wood were also found standing vertically. Chief among these was a huge oak log, 4 feet long and 3½ feet in circumference—half a tree trunk, split down the middle and pointed at the bottom into a blunt wedge shape. The bottom of this post was planted 6½ feet below the present surface, and had been well preserved by the damp subsoil; the top, in drier earth, had perished. It stood at the north-east corner of the camp, in the interior of the rampart but nearer its inner face, and indicates a wooden corner turret or stockade.

The interior of the camp, so far as we trenched it, yielded in general no trace of human occupation. But immediately within the north-west corner, our trench revealed a stratum 23 feet long and 6-12 inches thick, of black matter. Our workmen took this to be burnt stuff; we thought it the result of water draining off the camp, and forming a little pool against the bank of the rampart. In this stratum we found some bits of decayed Samian, a few other potsherds, several pieces of sewn leather, one or two cinders of one sort or another, and two fragments of brick. Below this stratum were four vertical pieces of wood, two close together about six feet from the large oak post above mentioned, and two about 10 feet further into the camp. The former were birch branches, 9 inches in circumference, the latter oaken staves 21 inches long, and

in one case 2 × ¾ inches, in the other 1½ × 2 inches wide and thick. They are too small for building poles, but, if not accidental, might have served as tent-pegs or the like.

The rampart had two entrances, one each in the north and south fronts. The south entrance, still recognisable on the surface, is an aperture 50 feet wide, through the middle of which runs a raised bank, 11 feet wide and at its crown 2 feet high, composed of gravel and stones—the biggest stones in the centre and at the edges as kerbs. The space on either side of this bank, 16 feet on the west and 23 on the east, had some few stones scattered over it, but was in general untouched soil. On either side of the aperture, the surface indicates a return of the rampart as if to flank the entrance, but a trench across the eastern return showed only faint and dubious traces of such a return. Apparently the raised bank is a roadway going south from the camp, but the aperture is a mere entrance and not a regular gateway. The road itself was traced for about 150 yards southwards, till lost in a little gully. Another entrance is on the north, close to the edge of the inner camp. Here our trenches showed that the north ditches ceased and road metal, or something like it, was plentiful. Presumably, therefore, a road ran through the outer camp from north to south. No definite signs of any other entrance were noted. The east rampart is somewhat disturbed by the modern road and surface drainage, and was not examined. On the other hand, an apparent entrance in the west rampart was found to be crossed by a continuous ditch.

(B) The inner rectangular camp measures 215 feet from east to west and 235 feet from north to south. It is defended all round by a rampart and ditch, which on the north and west are those of the larger camp, and on the east and south are independent. Here the ditch is single, except that at the south-west corner the double ditch is continued a little way round. (See plan.) The rampart, as we found by trenching at and near its north-east

corner, resembled the rampart of the outer camp in general size and character, but, perhaps as being on higher and drier ground than the north-east corner of the outer camp, it yielded no bottom stratum of wood, nor was any post found in it. Outside it is a small berm and a ditch, V shaped, about 5 feet wide and deep. A few potsherds (Samian, &c.) occurred just within the corner, but otherwise the interior of this camp, like that of the larger camp, yielded practically no sign of occupation. Large undressed stones were common at one point (see plan), but we met no trace of masonry or timberwork. The entrance to this inner camp seems to have been in the centre of the east side, convenient to the road traversing the outer camp. A low bank, visible on the surface, runs from near this entrance to the north face of the camp. Where our trench BB^1 cut this bank, we found many large undressed stones. The meaning of the bank is not clear: it may contain débris from some structure of undressed stone and wood.

(C) Immediately outside the north rampart and ditches of the outer camp are traces of a rude building—perhaps two rooms, covering an area of less than 20 × 60 feet; the walls are of undressed stone. We found nothing here, and Mr. Robinson, though he reports *inter alia* "three stones" of melted lead and suggests that the wretched structure was roofed in that metal, recognised nothing as Roman. The masonry is too rude to date, and the building must for the present be left unexplained.

It remains to draw conclusions as to the whole site. First, Samian and other Roman potsherds occur in it.* It was therefore occupied in Roman times. Secondly, everything found in the camp either is or may well be Roman; leather, for example, is frequent on Roman sites. Moreover, the rectangular shape and double foss of the defences are Roman features—though they occur, of

* Samian, &c., had been found before our excavations (the Rev. C. H. Gem showed me some pieces), but had not apparently been recognised as Roman.

course, also in non-Roman works. We may, therefore, fairly infer that the defences are of Roman construction, and that the camp is definitely a Roman camp. Thirdly, the remains appear to be few; the ramparts are earthen, and no buildings of stone can be traced.* The camp was, therefore, probably a temporary fort, used in one campaign or set of campaigns, perhaps during the first conquest of the district, perhaps in some subsequent trouble.† The road which traverses it may also have been merely a campaigning road.

So far it seems possible to form a clear and tolerably safe conception of the nature of the camp. It is more difficult to determine the exact relation of the inner and outer enclosures. A combination of large and small Roman camps is not unparalled; but usually, as at Chew Green and Ardoch, the smaller and inner camp is the more strongly fortified of the two. At Chew Green, for instance, the smallest inner camp, with an internal area of about 60 yards square ($\frac{3}{4}$ acre), is defended by a rampart and berm and three ditches, the whole defences having a width of about 90 feet.‡ In such a case we might suppose the inner, stronger, fort to be the real fort and the outer area to be rather a fortified enclosure, occupied in full strength only on occasion. But at Camp Hill the outer area is the more strongly fortified, and the explanation just mentioned, though tenable, is less suitable. Chancellor Ferguson once suggested that the larger fort was first

* We examined incidentally some alleged Roman stones in Torpenhow Church. We found only one—a small plain panel, with a cable border, on the north side of the chancel—which had the least resemblance to Roman work, and this cannot be called at all certain.

† It has been suggested that the camp was occupied while the road which traversed it was being made. That does not seem to me an adequate cause, especially as the road would have taken only a few days to construct. I doubt also whether this "road" has been rightly conceived by former writers. They speak of a Roman road from Keswick to Old Carlisle, but no proper evidence of such a road exists, and the alleged "fort" at Keswick is extremely doubtful. The finds cited in the late Chancellor Ferguson's *Survey* under Keswick are almost all wrong. I should imagine that the road at Caermot was as temporary as the camp.

‡ As measured by myself and Mr. R. C. Bosanquet in 1899.

built; subsequently the garrison was reduced and the inner fort constructed, and he asserted, in proof, that the ditch of the inner fort was carried through the former western gate. Our trenches, however, revealed no sign of a western gate or road-metal, and though not carried far enough to prove the exact lines of the ditches at the point in question, gave no hint of any reconstruction or of earlier or later ditch making. The return of the rampart south of the alleged gate is not quite certain; but if it existed, it may well have defended the gap caused by the two ditches round the corner of the inner camp.

Here we must leave this curious site. For its fuller explanation we need not only more excavation of it, but, still more, some search in similar camps. It is the first Roman camp of earth in the north of England which has been even provisionally examined with any sort of care.

It may be convenient to add a summary of the trenches which we dug :—

I.—Trench 100 feet long, taken from outside the N.E. corner of the outer rampart diagonally into the camp. At 10 feet from the N.E. end the rise of the rampart was detected, at 27 feet the large oak log described above; from 32-45 feet a black layer with Samian potsherds, and leather &c., in it; at 33-43 feet, pairs of small vertical sticks. The rest of the trench yielded only two potsherds. The subsoil throughout contained much water. (Plan, AA^1).

II.—Trench 16 feet long, across north face of outer rampart, opposite the 'traces of building,' revealing the same construction of rampart as No. 1, but less wood and peat; a drier spot.

III.—Trench 160 feet long, taken from outside the N.E. corner of inner rampart diagonally into inner camp. At 14-19 feet the ditch, V shaped, full of black matter; 26-46 feet, traces of the rampart constructed as in No. 1, but without wood, as being drier ground; 105-135 feet, many large undressed stones, but no trace of actual building. Some potsherds at about 46 feet, but little elsewhere. (Plan, BB^1).

IV.—Trench through east rampart of inner camp, near to No. 3; same features of rampart, a few potsherds (Samian, &c.).

V.—Some holes in area of building, to north of camp; nothing found.

VI.—Trench at south entrance across bank of road. Bank 11 feet wide, 2 feet high at highest, large and small stones, large stones most on kerbs and centre. On each side of bank a few stones, which had apparently spread from the "road."

VII.—Trench 25 feet long across surface-indication of a rampart flanking the entrance (east side); mixed soil and a stratum of blue clay, in all 18 inches thick, ceasing at east end of trench. If a return of the rampart, it has been greatly destroyed.

VIII.—Trenches at S.W. corner of inner camp, alleged west gateway. The trenches showed that the outer of the ditches outside the whole camp was continuous, that no road metal was traceable, and that the inner camp had here a double ditch for 50 feet, and no more, along its southern face. I believe that the plan shows the Roman ramparts and ditches correctly, but we had not time to work the spot completely, and I have therefore marked it 'Dubious' on the plan.

IX.—Trench across alleged north entrance (near No. 3) showed that here the ditches of the north rampart stopped, and stones resembling road metal lay in the line suitable for the road.

The excavations at Torpenhow were superintended by the present writer; Mr. R. P. L. Booker, Mr. G. B. Grundy, and the Rev. James Wilson of Dalston, editor of the *Cumberland County History*, were—one or more of them—also present and assisting almost all through the work.

II.—The Vallum near Castlesteads.

In 1901 we traced the Vallum westwards from near Walton to the "grass park" of Castlesteads, and found that 320 yards east of the fort its line (as we followed it from the east) deviated southwards in order to pass south of the fort. In 1902 we traced the line further west, through Castlesteads Woods, and found that it turned, taking a direction slightly north of west, so as to sweep round Castlesteads fort at a distance of about 90 yards, and approach the Wall once more. At the cliff above the

Cambeck its traces had been destroyed by landslips, and in the holms on the other side of the stream we had already found in 1897 that the movements of the river had been numerous, and search was therefore useless. We were able, however, to trace it on the high ground beyond the holms, at Newtown of Irthington. Here it coincides with a green lane behind the houses, and is separated from the Wall by an interval of barely 35 yards. West of this it runs roughly parallel with the Wall, and was easily followed by a series of trenches up to the point where it was sought in 1894 by the late Mr. Calverley (Report, 1894, p. 465). In general, the line of the Vallum given on the Ordnance Maps west of Newtown is fairly correct. For the sake of precaution, we may perhaps dig a few more test trenches across the line of the Vallum in this neighbourhood. But practically we may say that the lost section which we have been following for some time has now been satisfactorily recovered, and that the line of the Vallum is now known with reasonable certainty from Birdoswald to Stanwix. As the line has in many places entirely vanished from the face of the ground, it has been no easy work to trace it. In 1902, in particular, we met no trace whatever, on the surface, of its course.

It may be well to add the usual summary of our trenches. We must state beforehand, however, that owing to an accident a good many unproductive trenches were dug at the outset of our work. Our last trench of 1901 (No. xxi.) had shown us one side of a ditch or hole, filled with mixed earth and peat below, and having a flat bottom 9½ feet below the present surface. As this was in a straight line with the previously discovered line of the Vallum we took it for a part of the Vallum ditch, and proceeded in this year to follow the same line. It was only after many failures that we discovered that trench xxi. of 1901 did not cover the Vallum ditch, and that this had taken a different direction near to trench xx. I have distinguished by letters (A, B, C, &c.) the trenches thus

dug in wrong places, and have summarised them at the end of the others :—

Trench i., 36 feet long and 20 feet west of trench xx., 1901. The two lips of the Vallum ditch were found at five feet from each end; at 10 feet from each end the depths of the sides of the ditch were each just over six feet; in the middle, the depth was 9-10 feet for about 10 feet horizontally. Freestone, Samian, and other potsherds occurred in the filling of the ditch, and black matter at the bottom. This trench was extended northwards to make sure that we had not again got upon some hole, and that no other ditch existed north of it.

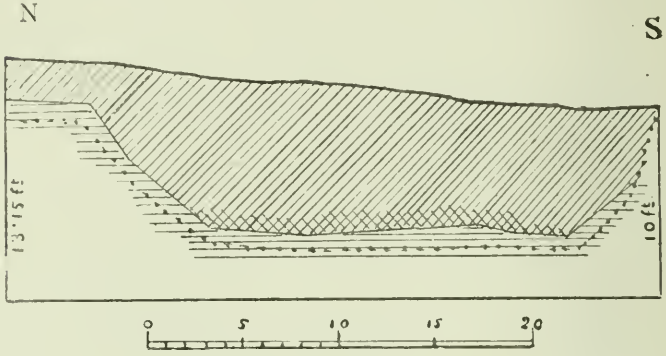
Trench ii., 40 feet long, 128 feet west of No. i., close to the fence of the grass park. The north lip of the ditch was found 11 feet from the north end of the trench, the south lip five feet from the south end; the bottom of the ditch was about eight feet below the present surface, but was not dug entirely out. The ditch was filled at the top with mixed earth and cobbles, then grey and (at the bottom) black matter, which contained potsherds, &c., and a bit of red sandstone rudely scratched to represent a face (p. 348). The cobbles formed a layer nearly 30 inches thick, and indicate that the Vallum had here been at some (probably recent) date filled up on purpose (? in 1790, when the present house was built and the grounds laid out).

Trench iii., 19 feet long, 55 feet west of No. ii., close to the same fence. This trench showed the south slope of the ditch, beginning at eight feet from the south end, and the bottom of the bottom of the ditch at 14 feet. The slope is five in six; the bottom is marked by black matter, &c. This trench cut the ditch obliquely, as both the contents of the trench and the calculations of the surveyors show.

Trench iv., 11 feet long, 45 feet west of No. iii., on the north side of the fence and within Castlesteads Woods. Here we found the south slope of the ditch at the south end of the trench, and its bottom (a thick layer of black matter) at 7¼ feet deep.

Trench v., 42 feet long, 123 feet west of No. iv. The north slope of the Vallum ditch was found to begin at 13 feet from the north end; the south slope is under the south end of the trench; the diagram annexed shows further details. As in trench iii., the vestiges of the slope of the ditch ran obliquely to the trench, which cuts the ditch at an angle of about 80°. The bottom of the ditch was marked by a peat layer, 8-14 inches thick, out of which came various relics—a handled knife, many Romano-British potsherds, leather (p. 348), bones, freestone fragments,

abundant traces of ancient vegetation (oak, birch, ling, &c.), and some pieces of wood cut by human agency—in short, just what one might expect close to a fort, here only 30 yards distant.* The small rise in the middle of the bottom of the ditch has been found elsewhere.



SCALE OF FEET.

The diagonal shading indicates surface soil and disturbed earth.
The horizontal shading, undisturbed subsoil.
The crosswise shading, black deposit in the ancient ditch, containing fragments of leather, bones, &c.
The continuous line represents the line of ancient surface during the existence of the ditch.
The dotted line, the limit reached by the excavators
The position of a path prevented complete excavation of the southern lip of the ditch.

CASTLESTEADS. T. H. H and E. H., Aug., 1902.

Some other trenches were dug somewhat east of trench v., but only showed undisturbed subsoil. They are noteworthy only as proving that the Vallum did not run where they were dug—that is, they supply negative evidence that trench v. really cut the ditch.

Trench vi., two trenches were dug 70 and 120 feet west of No. v. on what was at first taken to be the line. They showed only undisturbed subsoil; one yielded a bit of what may be an inscription (p. 348). Finally a trench 47 feet west of No. v., and slightly north of the line fruitlessly tried, cut the ditch, with

* By the kindness of Sir W. T. Thiselton-Dyer, K.C.M.G., Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, some 30 specimens of the wood were examined at Kew by Mr. H. H. W. Pearson. Thirteen pieces (the largest in the lot) were found to be oak, eight to be birch, two ash, one probably hazel, and the rest principally birch roots. One piece of birch seemed to be the lower end of a stake. On several other pieces of birch the bark was as fresh as if the pieces had been cut quite recently: compare *Report* for 1900, p. 87 *note*.

black matter at $7\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep. As subsequent surveying proved, the two fruitless trenches were out of the true line, while trench vi. was upon it.

Trench vii., 140 feet west of No. vi., 46 feet long, showed the north slope of the ditch at 25 feet from its north end, and much mixed clay and peat filling the ditch.

Trench viii., 105 feet west of No. vii.. 37 feet long. The north lip of the ditch was under the north end of this trench; the bottom eight feet deep; the filling mixed red clay above, grey and black stuff below; the latter yielded potsherds, leather, worked wood, &c. The clay must have been laid on purposely at some time or other, perhaps in 1790.

Trench ix.. 92 feet west of No. viii., 15 feet long, showed the north slope of the ditch (apparently fallen in), and similar mixed stuff in it.

Trench x., 70 feet west of No. ix., 18 feet long, showed the north lip of the ditch at seven feet from its north end, the bottom at 12 feet. The north slope of the ditch had fallen in, or been somewhat disturbed.

Trench xi., 40 feet west of No. x., 28 feet long. Here the south slope of the ditch was found rising sharply at the south end of our trench; the bottom was eight feet deep at the south end, six feet deep at the north end; the north slope was found at five feet from the north end of the trench. This trench is on the very edge of the cliff above the Cambeck, and the ditch here has probably been altered by water running through it.

A further trench (not marked on the plan) was dug for 45 feet, at 110 feet down the hillside, but no trace of the Vallum or its ditch were found. The hillside has, indeed, been so vexed by landslips that one would not expect any sort of traces to survive. The holms by the Cambeck have also been so turned over by the river, which is known to have repeatedly altered its course, that search there would be futile, and was proved to be so in 1898 (Report, 1898, p. 354). We therefore resumed operations on the higher ground near Newtown of Irthington.

Trench xii., 68 feet long, close to the eastern hedge of a croft close tenanted by Mr. Gillespie. The north slope of the ditch is 11 feet from the south end of this ditch, and is very steep and indeed almost vertical. The bottom was found at $8\frac{1}{4}$ feet; the filling of the ditch is soft soil with some bits of freestone, contrasting markedly with the subsoil of hard sand.

The steepness of the side was surprising. It recurs further west, and was also noticed by us near Howgill in similar subsoil (Report, 1900, p. 78). Our labourers declared that such subsoils

would stand on an almost vertical slope. Explorers of Kentish 'dene-holes' sunk through sand have noticed the same fact. But it is remarkable that the constructors of the Vallum should have *chosen* to make the sides of its ditch so steep.

Trench xiii., 16 feet long, at a field gate opening into a green "lonning" behind Newtown. This showed the south lip of the ditch and a steep slope down, three feet from its south end. The ditch was traced under the lonning; at the other end of the trench it was $6\frac{3}{4}$ feet deep, and had two black layers of decayed vegetation at the bottom. Apparently the lonning does not actually run along the ditch, but the ditch must first have silted up, and the lane has then taken its course along the filled up surface. Here Wall and Vallum are barely 30 yards apart.

Trench xiv., 16 feet long, on the east side of the West Field, a large grass meadow. At eight feet from the north end the dip of the south side of the ditch was found; the filling was mixed sand, with grey and black stuff below.

Another trench was dug near this, but it showed only the vestiges of a now extinct pond, close to the lane.

Trench xv., long trench, along the western hedge of West Field. The south lip of the ditch was found at 350 feet from the north-west corner of the field; the slope was very steep; the flat bottom of the ditch was 6 feet 3-7 inches below the present surface.

The line of the Wall in this field is indicated by debris, which we trenched, to be about 110-120 feet from the north-west corner of the field. Here, therefore, Wall and Vallum ditch are about 80 yards apart. A milecastle is said to have been in this field, and Dr. Bruce, in his *Handbook* (ed. 1895), speaks of "evident traces." We were unable to find such traces, but there is a local belief that something of the sort once existed, and in the second (1853) edition of his *Roman Wall*, Dr. Bruce says that the foundations were all uprooted in 1852.

Trench xvi., on the west side of the road leading to Irthington, in the headrigg of a turnip field. The trench was 17 feet long; at its south end was the steep south slope of the Vallum ditch, with bottom at seven feet deep.

Trench xvii., long trench on the east side of High Croft, a large grass field, formerly ploughed, belonging to Mr. R. Law. Here we trenched from the ditch of the Wall to that of the Vallum. The Wall ditch (now filled up) was found to run along the north side of the field, with its north slope under the hedge. We were able to ascertain, however, that the ditch was (as usual) V

shaped, the bottom 10 feet below the present surface, and the slope of the south side about 1 in 2 at the bottom and 2 in 3 at the top. Behind—that is, south of the ditch—we found a clear space, presumably the berm, 28 feet wide, and then a layer of Wall debris 12 feet wide; this latter we tested by parallel trenches 48 feet eastwards. There followed an expanse of untouched soil for 176 feet, and then we reached the Vallum ditch. This proved to be 20 feet wide from the lip of untouched soil to lip, 16 feet wide at the bottom, and eight feet deep below the present surface; the filling was mixed grey soil, easily distinguished from the sandy subsoil. The sides were very steep. As the subsoil is here 2-2½ feet below the present surface, the original ditch must have been six feet deep at least. We tested this ditch by parallel trenches, 55 feet westwards, 47 feet eastwards, and on the western side of the field, and in all three cases found mixed soil in the proper place to eight feet depth. No trace of the Mural road was found in any of these trenches.

Now I subjoin the trenches dug in error, in Castlesteads grass park :—

(A) Trench 58 feet long, 105 feet west of trench xxi., 1901. The south part of this trench showed a depression, sinking to five feet below present surface, and filled with mixed soil and peat, with cobbles above. But the depression is only six feet wide, and is too small for the ditch of the Vallum. It appears to have been filled in comparatively recently.

(B) Trench 88 feet long, 88 feet west of A. This revealed two small depressions each about six feet deep and two feet wide, and at the south end a bed of cobbles, laid on undisturbed soil, and plainly a road. We traced this road for about 150 yards westwards, and found it to agree with a carriage road to Castlesteads House closed many years ago.

(C) Trench 154 feet west of B, in front of Castlesteads House. This showed untouched subsoil throughout.

(D) Trench 45 feet long, 39 feet west of the gate into the grass park. This also showed untouched sand.

(E) Trench 150 feet long, west of Castlesteads House—untouched sand throughout.

These trenches may help to convince any sceptical readers that the ditch of the Vallum is a real thing, not to be found at any chance trench.

The trenches at Castlesteads were supervised by the present writer, Mr. R. P. L. Booker, and Mr. T. H. Hodgson; those at Newtown by the present writer.

III.—The Wall at Walton.

The line of the Wall at Walton is given variously by various writers, and in all cases conjecturally. We were able to trace most of the doubtful portion, and to form an opinion as to the position of a supposed milecastle.

The Wall exists above ground, and, indeed, retains a few facing stones of its southern side, on the bank above Kingwater, immediately west of Dovecote Bridge.* From this starting point, we followed the Wall in thirteen trenches up the field north of the road from Dovecote to Walton, called Townhead Croft. Our trenches showed regularly debris, freestones, cobble foundation layers and concrete of mortar and pebbles, and bits of freestone—exactly the same concrete as may be seen along the Wall east of Kingwater, at Dovecote, at Garthside, and at Banks. The width of the debris varied, but was usually about 9-13 feet; no freestone was found *in situ* except perhaps in the fifth trench, and the Wall, it is clear, has here been very thoroughly robbed. A trench was dug also to find the front of the Wall, and showed a berm of some 28 feet width between the rubble and the south lip of the ditch. It may be added that in this field the Wall follows a very weak line, singularly overhung by rising ground immediately to the north.

The Wall crosses the Dovecote and Walton Road about 130 feet from the corner where it reaches the hilltop, and presumably enters the field on the other side of the road, Bendle's Croft (Reports, 1900, p. 82; 1901, p. 391). Here

* A story that the Wall, or Roman concrete of it, was found in 1893-4 in building Dovecote Bridge was investigated by Mr. Booker, and seems to be incorrect. The remains actually found were insignificant, and not *in situ*. The bridge is not, indeed, in the line of the Wall, but just south of it.

we dug two long parallel trenches and several short ones without discovering any certain traces of the Wall.* We were able, however, to find the ditch. It appears, in fact, that the mound which occupies the north-east corner of the field consists on its south side of undisturbed sandy soil, while its northern part is mostly made ground. This made ground is the filling of the ditch in front of the Wall. For the convenience of visitors, it may be added that the Wall seems to run through the Black Bull Inn, while its ditch underlies the gate into Bendle's Croft, and passes just south of the group of beech trees in the north-east corner of the field. In fact, the line suggested by Maclauchlan is practically correct, while that laid down in the Ordnance Survey is entirely wrong.

Of the milecastle which has been supposed to have stood here we found no trace. Our trenches of the last three years have, however, yielded so much debris as to make the existence of something more than a Wall not improbable, and the discovery of a bit of "Samian" in the filling of the ditch, isolated as it is, suggests that the site was occupied in Roman times. It has, moreover, since been much disturbed. The stone used in this part of the Wall by the Romans is soft and perishable; it has been extensively borrowed by subsequent builders, and as, within almost living memory, farm buildings occupied the north side of Bendle's Croft, the disappearance of Wall and milecastle is not inexplicable.

IV.—Miscellaneous Finds.

Few objects of individual interest were found; excavations along the Vallum are, indeed, rarely productive of such. We may mention the following, found at Castlesteads :—

* A small parcel of debris found in one trench of 1901 (not recorded in our Report) seems to be in the line of the Wall. It was, however, so small that it is hardly noteworthy.

(1) Block of red sandstone, 8½ inches long, 5 wide, 4 thick, found in trench ii., having on the front a rudely scratched nose, eyes, lips, and beard, the beard indicated by pickmarks, the rest by straight lines. (See Plate opposite.)

(2) Block of red sandstone, 10½ inches long, 3½ wide, 4 thick, found near trench vi. It appears to have three lines of very rude letters between horizontal marks, the upper lines two inches high, the lowest 1½ high. The letters might be:—

$$\overline{\text{MI}} \text{ (or } \Lambda\text{)}$$
$$\overline{\Lambda\text{N}}$$
$$\overline{\Lambda\text{II}}$$

The object is broken on all sides, but the line MI (or MΛ) has blank space above, and was the top. (See Plate opposite, from a photograph by Miss Hudson. For convenience in photographing, the stone has been placed upside down.)

(3) Soles of a pair of sandals, found in trench v., near the bottom, with other not distinguishable leather fragments. A bootmaker to whom I showed a tracing of the better preserved sandal (right foot) said it would be now a "five" or a "six." He thought it indicated a narrow woman's foot, and probably an ill-fit. One of the tags which was fastened from the sole over the foot is preserved; it would have passed over the joint of the great toe.

The "Samian" potsherds found at Castlesteads were mostly mere fragments. A few were embossed pieces—all of the "bowl" type (these *Transactions*, xv., 192, plate vii., fig. 6), which is commonest on the Wall, and probably belongs to the second and third centuries.*

* I may here correct my statement in xv., 194, that the cylindrical type, there represented in plate vii., 3 and 4, does not occur along the Wall. It does occur, though not very commonly. Dragendorff's dating of this type exclusively to the first century seems also untenable on later German evidence. I imagine the type was used both in the first and, though less extensively, in the second century.

FRAGMENTS FOUND IN CASTLESTEADS WOODS

(Inscribed Stone, Head. and Knife).

(TO FACE P. 348.)

EXPENDITURE.

	£	S.	D.
Labour at Castlesteads	23	12	0
Compensation at Castlesteads	2	15	0
Labour, etc., at Caermot	3	15	0
	£30	2	0

Of this £10 was defrayed out of the £25 voted by the Society for the continuance of our excavations, and the balance out of Oxford and other private subscriptions. These subscriptions, which provided us with a small balance for the last three or four years, are now exhausted. As the balance of the Society's grant is not likely to be sufficient for the whole of another year's work, we must appeal to the kindness of those who are interested in the excavations again to help us.

ART. XXI.—*Notes on the Friary at Penrith.* By FRANCIS HASWELL, M.D.

Read at Penrith, August 28th, 1902.

THE Friary at Penrith has a very meagre record, and I have only been able to find one additional fact beyond those already recorded in the various published histories, but it may be advisable to collate what is known, so that it may make a sequence of events as far as possible.

In the year 1291, after the Parliament at Norham, and when King Edward I. was settling the rival claims of Bruce and Baliol to the Scottish Crown to no one's satisfaction but his own, the Austin Friars at Newcastle-on-Tyne had a grant of land made to them in Penrith by one John de Capella. This, I think, is probably the foundation of the Friary, and it is a reasonable supposition that some of the friars from Newcastle came over, built a house, and settled here.

The grant is in the following terms :—

19 Edw 1. Aug 8. 1291. Berwick on Tweed — License for the alienation in mortmain by John de Capella to the Prior and Augustinian Friars of Newcastle-on-Tyne of a messuage in Penrith. —*Calendar of Patent Rolls.*

John de Capella was interred in the burying ground of the friars at Newcastle-on-Tyne.

In 1299 King Edward gave alms to the friars, some of whom appear to have been in attendance on him during his journey south :—

Liber Garderobae — Elemosina — Fratribus Sancti Augustini de Penreth pro Eodem putura per manus fratris Ade de Ceteringeton apud Skelton. 24 die Junii, 2^{s} 8^{d}

Fratribus Sancti Augustini de Penreth pro putura sua duorum dierum in transitu Regis per ibidem de dono ejusdem per manus fratris Petri de Clare ibidem. 16 die Novembris, 5^{s} 8^{d}—(Jefferson.)

Jefferson goes on to say that in the *Calendarium Inquisitionum Post Mortem*, 1217-1413, occurs the following :—

5 Edw. III. Joh'es de Crumbewell pro priore de Penreth. Penrethe i mess' et ii acr' terr' ibm.

and Tanner's book gives this extract :—

Escæt. Cumb. 7 Edw. III. pro ii acris contingens manso prioris et fratrum ord. S. August. de Penreth, ex. dono Johannis de Crumbwell

This would, no doubt, be the same John de Crumbwell who married the widow of Roger de Leyburne of the Cunswick family.

In 1356, Agnes Denton, widow, gave the friars by will 10s.

On their petition to Bishop Welton in 1359, he granted them license to officiate and perform divine service at the chapel of Newton Reigny, which they alleged to have been for some time destitute of a chaplain (Nicolson and Burn), and about the same time the bishop granted an indulgence of forty days to all who should be present when the friars lighted their candles on Christmas Day, and to those who made them presents, because they were very poor (Jefferson). This shows a very lamentable state of affairs, and I have no doubt the poor friars made themselves very useful by visiting the sick and tending wayfarers, as was their wont, and surely they deserved a better reward than this extreme poverty.

In 1365 Bishop Appleby granted license to Friar R., sacrist of the Friary, to officiate in the chapel of Newton for four years (Nicolson and Burn).

Richard, the 1st Lord Scrope of Bolton, who died in 1403, left a sum of money by will to the brethren :—

Item cuilibet domui Fratrum de Karlioli, Penreth, Appleby. xxs. —(Jefferson.)

In 1489, Robert Wrangwis, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, gave them lands at Penrith.

Dugdale gives no valuation for this house at the dissolution, and probably it was of little worth—most likely consisting of a poor building, and about four or five acres of land. It was granted in 1542 to Robert Tyrwhitt of Kettilby, Lincoln.

Built into the wall of the present house is a rudely carved head representing, I think, a monk with a cowl, and a pillar of red sandstone is built also into the wall at Abbot Bank. These are the only remains of the original building now traceable.

No outline of the original building exists, but Walker states that the house in Friargate, then known as the Friary, occupied the site of the convent, and that when the trenches for the foundations of the walls of the house called Abbot Bank (which adjoins the Friary) were being dug, the ground floor of the convent was discovered and a quantity of human bones found under the chancel, including a pair of thigh bones of extraordinary size, and several undecayed skulls, with teeth still fresh and even. The bones were exhumed on the day on which George IV. was crowned, and re-interred in a field which the prior and brethren had formerly held in free alms.

If this statement is correct, I should imagine that Abbot Bank is built on the site of the chapel of the Friary, and that the monastic buildings were on the ground now covered by the house called the Friarage.

ART. XXII.—*Ninekirks and the Countess's Pillar.* By the Rev. ARTHUR JOHN HEELIS, M.A., Rector of Brougham.

Read at Ninekirks, August 28th, 1902.

WE cannot, I think, be wrong in connecting the common name "Ninekirks" with the ancient British saint, Ninian; but whether a church was here founded by him in his lifetime, or connected with his name by an after dedication, remains one of the uncertainties of antiquarian lore.

For my own part, I am inclined to think that Ninian, when in the flesh, did actually preach and baptise near this spot, and that the caves of "Isis Parlis," or the "Giant's Caves," in the face of the crag across the Eamont, at one time sheltered men of John the Baptist type, pioneers of Christ's army, sent to "prepare the way of the Lord."

In Ninian's day an armed Roman garrison held the country, but sound policy might well look for pacificatory results to the subduing influences of a taste for Roman art, Roman fashion, luxury—even religion. The adoption of the toga by the sons of British chieftains was a striking victory for Rome. The journey of a young chieftain to Rome to be instructed in the Christian religion, and fitted in due time to become a very influential bishop, was a vantage gained for a higher and more lasting kingdom than that of Imperial Rome.

Ninian, born on the shores of the Solway, was such a young chieftain.* The date of his return from Rome is

* Ailred of Hexham, who (in the 12th century) wrote the earliest extant life of Ninian, is the authority for his being son of a Solway-side Chieftain (rex). He professes to rely on Bede, (who only says that he was "de natione Britannum"), and on a book about N's life and miracles "barbario (!) scriptum." (J.R.A.)

fixed at about A.D. 396. His natural route would carry him within a mile of this spot, and he may have chosen to use the ford within a few hundred yards of the church for his passage onwards to his goal.

The friend and father in God of Ninian—the Paul of this young Timothy—was St. Martin of Tours, whom he visited in Gaul on his journey back from Rome. The following extract from Dr. Hook's *Ecclesiastical Biography* favours the belief that this sacred spot and the caves hard by had a real connection with Ninian or his disciples:—

> He (Martin) continued to live as an ascetic in the neighbourhood of his church till, finding himself too much intruded on by visitors, he crossed the Loire, and in a nook in its banks formed a cell where he lived. This was the foundation of the abbey of Marmoutier, one of the most noted in Gaul. It was destroyed in the revolution, and amidst its ruins the cells of St. Martin and his monks, hollowed out of the rock, are still visible.

The caves (Isis Parlis) have plainly been adapted by artificial means for human habitation. Doubtless, in a long series of revolving years, they have been put to many uses. Better hiding-places could not be chosen by the wicked, who are enemies of their kind; or the good, whose kind are to them unkind. The iron grates and strong doors, whose hinges remained in the middle of last century, point probably to its later use as a place of retreat during incursions of the reiving Scots, and here the far-famed "Luck of Edenhall" may more than once have been deposited for safety along with other treasures.*

I am bound to say that my mind is not clear as to whether this church may not have had a later dedication to St. Wilfrid, for—

(1) We read in Nicolson and Burn:—

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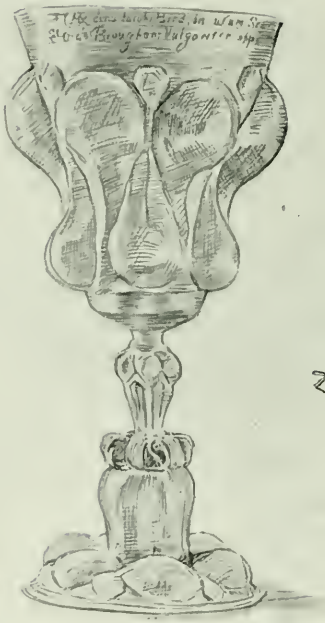
* Indeed, it is conceivable that here was the earlier and proper abode of the "Luck," which is generally supposed to have been a sacramental vessel, and which, according to tradition, was purloined from fairies at no great distance from the caves.

Rude Sculpture
found in St Ninians
Churchyard



The Bird
Chalice

Ex dono Iacobi Bird in usum Sacrosanctæ Eucharistiæ in Ecclesia Sancti Wilfridi de Brougham Vulgariter appellata Ninekirkes in Comitatu Westmerlandiæ

The church is vulgarly called Ninekirks, supposed to have been dedicated to St. Ninian, a Scottish saint, to which kingdom probably this church did belong at the period of that dedication, It is sometimes called the church of St. Wilfrid. Thus Sir Thomas de Derby, rector of Brougham in the reign of King Edward the 3rd, bequeathed his body to be buried in the church of St. Wilfrid de Burgham. And in the year 1637* Sir Robert de Wolseley, rector of Merton, in his will requested that his body might be interred in the church of St. Wilfrid de Burgham, and bequeathed 26s 8d to purchase a book for the said church. So that we must either suppose that the Scots had one tutelar saint of the church and the English another, or rather, perhaps, that this latter is the saint of the chapel, which, indeed, is not so properly a chapel of ease under the mother church as another church (as it were) in the same parish, for there is not the rector to officiate in the parish church and the curate in the chapel, but the rector officiates in both at different times and on different occasions.

(2) A chalice, presented probably in the seventeenth century, bears this inscription :—

Ex dono Jacobi Bird, in usum Sacro Sanctae Eucharistiae in Ecclesia Sancti Wilfridi vulgariter apellata Ninekirkes in Comitatu Westmorlandiae.

The following single entry in the registers corroborates the view that the appellation "St. Wilfrid's Church, commonly called Ninekirkes," once belonged by confusion or otherwise to this church :—

Mrs Mary Dalston of Litle Salkeld in the County of Cumberland, was buried in woolen onely in the church of St. Wilfrid of Burgham, upon the ninth day of January 1701-2.

It is not likely that this refers to the chapel—(*a*) from the use of the word "church;" (*b*) from the fact that the Dalstons had lately come to reside at Hornby Hall, in the

* 1637—*sic* in Nicolson and Burn—an obvious misprint, probably for 1367. Sir Robert de Wolselay was inst. rector of Longmarton 1362, and followed by a successor in 1369. Thomas de Derby was inst. to Brougham in 1365, resigned in 1367; was inst. *de novo* 1367.

immediate vicinity of the church ; (*c*) because two years later Bishop Nicolson notes "no burials in the chapel."*

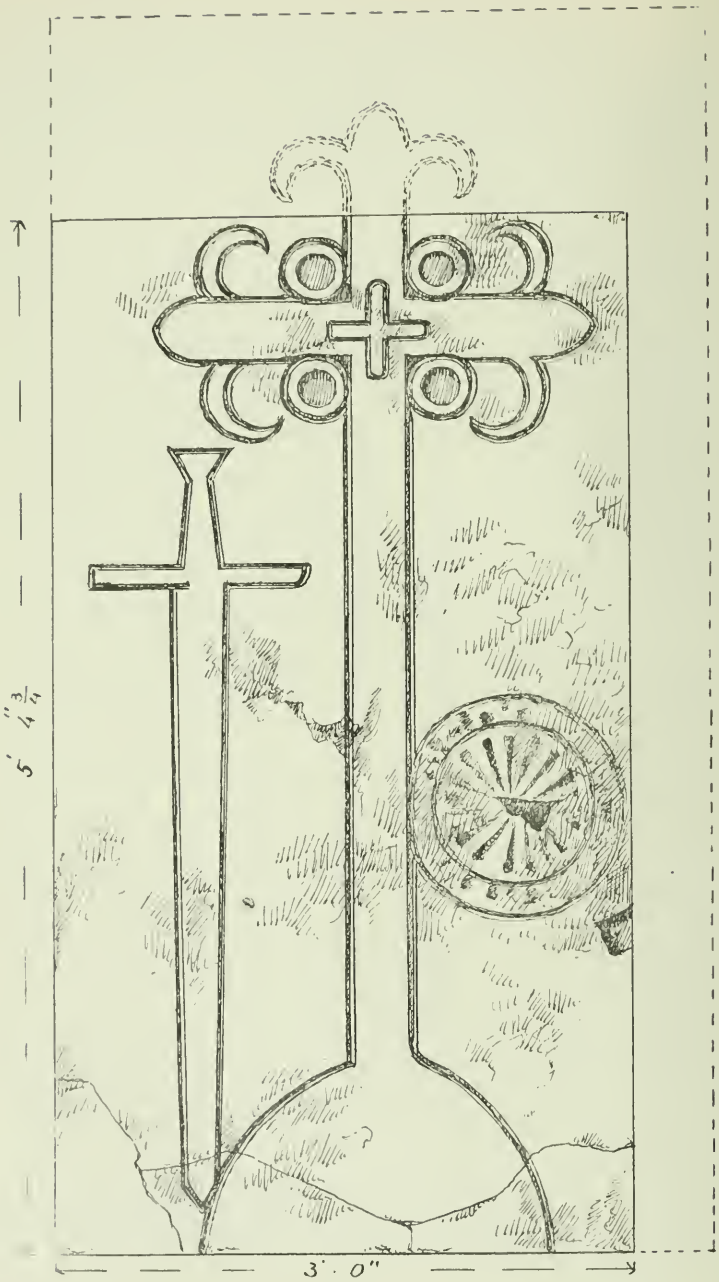
It is quite certain that both church and chapel existed at a very early date. To quote Nicolson and Burn :—

In the year 1393 it is said that there was an agreement between Thomas Reding, lord of the manor of Brougham, and Edward Skelling, then rector, concerning frequent prayers to be had in the chapel of Brougham ; that from thenceforth all manner of sacraments of the church shall be administered at the chapel of Brougham, except burials; that on Christmas Day in the morning shall be song and mass at the chapel, then after to go to the church to the high mass and offering; on Easter Day in the morning at the chapel mattins with resurrection and one soling mass for servants and aged persons and sick persons, and all the residue to go to the church to the high mass (and so the rest). That the parson shall find two searges afore St. Wilfrey, on his own proper costs. For which services Thomas Reding, lord of the manor, gave to the chapel at Brougham and parson of the church and his successors, one tenement as it lies at the west end of Brougham, with the garths about the chapel, within the precincts of the wall and no farther, with the woods and wastes and all the commodities within belonging; with one acre of land arable at the south side as the plough head goes and no further.

It may well be conjectured that the chapel had been in existence for at least a century previously to the above agreement. The Veteriponts came into power in 1203 by grant from King John, and late in John's reign or early in that of Henry III. took place a transaction by which Gilbert de Burgham granted half the town of Brougham and the advowson of the living to Robert de Veteripont, as the price of substituting the tenure of the manor of Brougham by "drengage" for the tenure of the remainder by "cornage." As the outcome of this transaction the chapel was built, possibly as early as A.D. 1215.

The incised slabs, commonly called the "Crusader's

* It seems reasonable to surmise that Rowland Borrow, who made this entry and was the contemporary of James Bird, may have been the author of the inscription on the chalice also, and may have been misled by records of ancient burials in the chapel. Still the point is by no means cleared of doubt.



RED SANDSTONE SLAB IN ST. NINIAN'S CHURCH, BROUGHAM:
from a drawing by Mr. E. TOWRY WHYTE, M.A., F.S.A.

tomb," have been claimed as covering the remains of Odard and Gilbert de Burgham, father and son. This is not improbable. On this assumption we may regard the circular disc on the larger slab as the round buckler proper to an Anglo-Saxon warrior. The de Burghams clearly had an ancient connection with Ninekirks, for they held the advowson of the living; while their tenure of part of the manor of Brougham by "drengage" (a form of villenage) affords reasonable grounds for concluding that they were descendants of Saxon Thanes, who had been allowed to hold part of their ancestral estates under their Norman overlords.

In A.D. 1170 Hugh de Morville, descendant of Randulph de Meschines, the first Norman owner of Brougham, for his overzeal in serving his King in the matter of the murder of Thomas â Becket lost his estates, which were held in the Crown till A.D. 1203, the date of the grant to the Veteriponts.

In A.D. 1176 Odard de Burgham was one of the custodians of Appleby Castle when it was successfully besieged by the Scots, and for his share in the matter was heavily fined. His son Gilbert, as before mentioned, made over the advowson of the church and half of the town of Brougham to his feudal lord, Robert de Veteripont, the lineal ancestor of the present patron.

The skull of the old warrior of the tomb, his "good sword's rust," and the remains of his spear, spurs, &c., have found a resting place at Brougham Hall.

A cross of large dimensions has at one time stood in the yard, the socket still remaining.* There was lately found in the yard a rudely-sculptured corbel or gurgoyle, which has been inserted into the wall of the porch for safe keeping.

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* It is of red sandstone, measuring about 30 by 29 inches, and about 14 inches high. The edges of this top surface are bevelled, and the hole for the shaft measures 12 by 10 inches. Like some other socket-stones, it has sometimes been called an old font.—ED.

The church as we see it to-day, with inner fittings remarkably similar to those of Haddon Hall Chapel (date 1624), must be, to all intents and purposes, the same as it met the approving eye of the great Anne, Countess of Pembroke, on the occasion referred to by this entry in her diary:—

And the 30th day of this March (1662 or 1663) being Easter Sunday I received the blessed sacrament in the church called Ninekirkes this being the first time I came into it after I had repayred and new built the said church.

The good lady was making one of her periodic residences at Brougham Castle, aged 72-3, and was suffering some infirmities which she afterwards overcame.

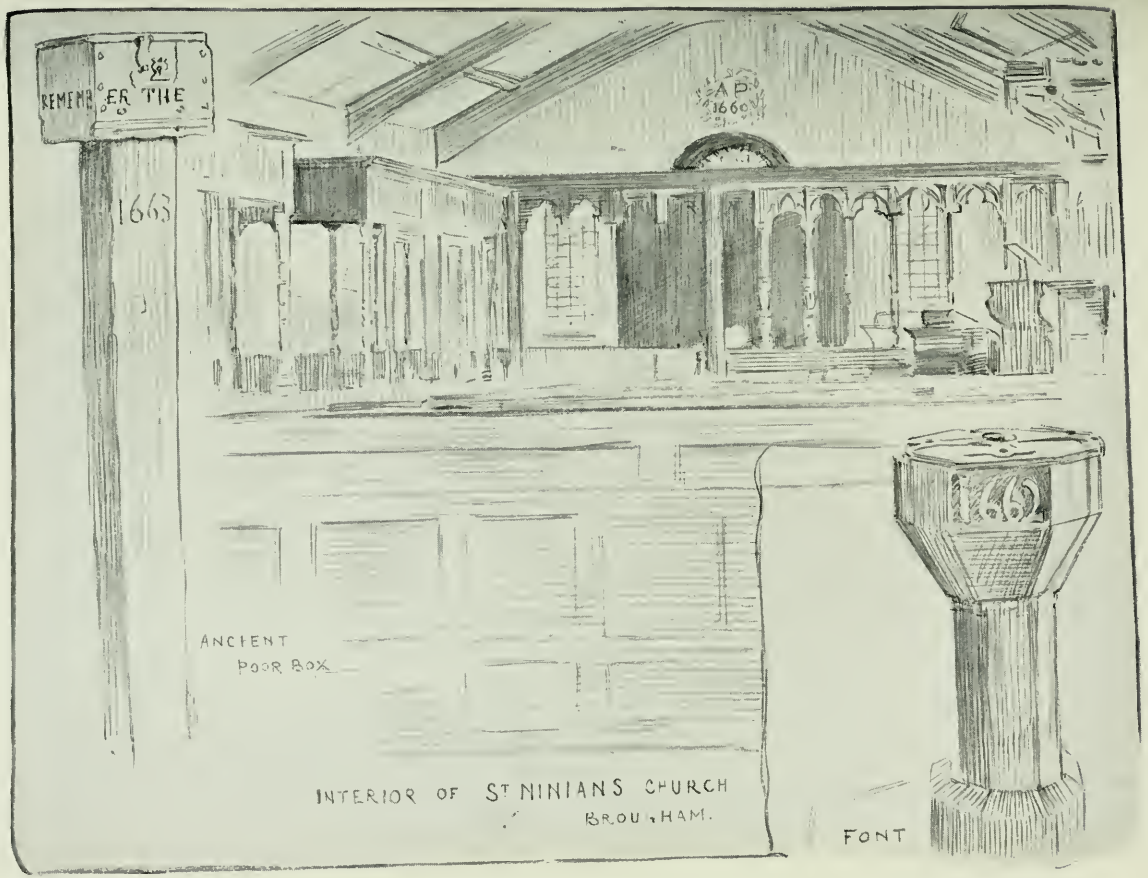
"During the time of my lying at Brougham Castle," she says in another passage, "I received the Sacrament thrice, once at Xmas in the Chappell at Brougham Castle, once at Ninekirkes on Easter day, and once at Brougham Chappell the 27 of Julie, which Chappell I have lately built, and this was the first time that I ever received the blessed Sacrament in this Brougham Chappell, and I seldom else went out of my chamber or upon the lands of the castle as I used to doe, but only into the painted chamber to have praiers."

Earlier still we have the entries:—

And the beginning of this summer a little before my coming out of Westmorland did I cause the church of Nynekirks to be pulled down and new built up again in the same place larger and bigger than it was before, which was finished the latter end of this summer though myself and my friends were then att my Castle of Skipton in Craven, and this Church of Nynekirkes would in all likelihood have fallen down it was so ruinous had it not been repaired by me, Ps. 116 v 12-13-14.

Again:—

This summer I caused the Chappell at Brougham to be pulled down and new built upp again larger and stronger than it was before at my own charge, and it was wholly finished about the latter end of April in one thousand six hundred and fifty and nyne. For which God be praised.


REMEMBER THE
1663
A P
1660
ANCIENT
POOR BOX
INTERIOR OF ST NINIANS CHURCH
BROUGHAM.
FONT

Ninekirks, from the monogram and date on the east wall, appears to have been completed in A.D. 1660. The font bears date 1662, and the quaint poor-box 1663.

The pathetic story and noble life of Anne, the last of the Westmorland Cliffords, involves too much explanation to be fully entered upon ; yet I am under promise to say something about the " Countess' Pillar," and the occasion which it commemorates.

Anne was then wedded to her first lord, Earl of Dorset. Her mother, Countess of Cumberland, dwelt in Brougham Castle as jointure-house. Her uncle held Appleby, Skipton, and the remainder of the property, it having been alienated to him by his brother's will, which mother and daughter refused to acquiesce in.

The contest ran high. Husband, king, archbishop—all the powers were in league against Anne. At length, half-bullied into concurrence, she obtained leave to visit her mother to obtain her consent to an arrangement. We learn the details most fully from the earlier diary kept by the countess at Knowle, and lately in part made public by Mrs. Aubrey Harrison in *Famous Ladies of the English Court.*

The earl and countess start north together with two four-horse coaches and 26 horsemen. They quarrel at Lichfield, and Dorset turns back. Anne goes on to Brougham with 10 persons and 13 horses. Mother and daughter decide on "a direct denial to the judges' award," the mother being, says Anne, "a woman of an high and great spirit."

Meanwhile Dorset sends letters

To shew that it was my lord's pleasure that the men and horses should come away without me, and so after much falling out betwixt my lady and them, all the folks went away, there being a paper* drawn to show that they went away by my lord's direction and contrary to my will.

* For this paper and also an interesting letter of Anne to her mother, see MSS. of Lord Hothfield, Hist. MSS. Commission, 11th report, appendix, part 7, p. 84.

On the very next day we read:—

I went after my folks in my lady's coach, she bringing me a quarter of a mile in the way, where she and I had a grievous and heavy parting.

In the later diary we read:—

So on the 2nd day of April following in the same year was the last time that ever that mother and daughter saw one another. For that day about noon, a quarter of a mile from Brougham Castle, in the open air they took their last leave one of another, with many tears and much grief, the mother returning into the said castle again, where she died the four and twentieth day of the month following.

When Anne ultimately came to her own—not by process of law, but by death of uncle and cousin—one of her first acts was to erect upon the spot of parting what is known as the "Countess' Pillar," and to charge her land in Brougham with a payment of £4 per year, to be distributed to the poor of Brougham "on the stone table hard by" each 2nd day of April for ever.

I will give one more extract from the countess' diary. The entry is in 1658, the year of the rebuilding of the chapel:—

This summer by some few mischievous people secretly in the night was there broken off and taken downe from that tree near the paile of Whinfield Parke (which for that cause was called the Harte Horn tree) one of those ould Harts horns which (as is mentioned in the summary of my ancestor Robert Lord Clifford's life) were sett upp in the year 1333 at a general hunting when Edward Balioll then king of Scotts came into England by permission of king Edward the third and lay for a while in the said Robert Lord Clifford's castle in Westmoreland when the said king hunted a great stagg which was killed neare the said oak tree. In memory whereof the hornes were nayled upp in it growing as it were naturally in the tree, and have remayned there ever since till that in the yeare 1648 one of those Hornes was broken downe by some of the army and the other was broken downe (as aforesaid) this year. So as now there is noe part thereof remayning. The tree itselfe being now so decayed and the

Barke of it soe peeled off that it cannot last long. Whereby we may see that time brings to forgettfulnesse any memorable things in this world bee they never soe carefully preserved. For this tree, with the Harts Horne in it was a thing of much note in these parts.

Bishop Nicolson, visiting Ninekirks on August 20th, 1703, remarks :—

The Quire is decent and separated from the body of the Church by a fair skreen of wainscot. The Communion Table is well Railed; the pavement good; the Windows Lightsome, etc. The Body is answerable to ye Quire; very well Timber'd, floor'd and seated, with Wainscot pews throughout. The Slates want repairs, ye roof being full of holes. A little will mend it. Here's a neat Font, and one good Bell. The Churchyard lies miserably open. Noe Monuments.

He further notes :—

The School* is taught by the curate (Mr Soulby) at ye Chapple; near Mr Bird's, at a mile and half's distance from the Church. He has no setled salary; nor more than 12d in ye Quarter for any one scholar. This Chapple has two Bells; but is in a base condition (in ye roof) considering that it was wholly rebuilt by the Lady Pembroke (in the same manner with the Church, with Buttresses, etc) in the year 1659, as attested by a subscription under her Armes at the East end. All the North side is taken up with seats for the Noble Family at ye Castle; the eldest whereof, as appears by the carving, were made in 1556. The children are taught on the Altar Part, three steps above the floor; and the Table is removed to make it look more like a school than a Chapple. None are bury'd here. Mr Bird saies the Rector ought to repair it; for that it was built for his ease, at his request to the Bishop, and on conditions to that purpose. It is indeed much nearer to the Parsonage house than the Church itself; and, whilst the town of Browham had a being,

* In connection with the use of the chapel as a school two interesting facts deserve mention :—(1) We learn from Nicolson and Burn that the de Veteriponts demolished the half of the town of Brougham which they obtained from Gilbert de Burgham, incorporating the site in their demesne, and that this gave rise to the building of the chapel to suit the altered centre of population; (2) there exists, on the Whinfell property of Lord Hothfield, a parcel of ground which from time immemorial has been called the "schoolhouse field," although no school is known to have existed in the parish previous to the building of the Whinfell school (on another site) in the latter part of the last century.

was more convenient for the greatest part of parish; but, that village being now demolished and ye lands swallow'd by Mr Bird's demesne, and none being ever likely hereafter to live at the castle, Mr B himself and his family are chiefly accommodated by it. The lands about it, formerly the Parson's, are also now exchang'd (for others nearer the rest of the gleab) into Demesne; so that this gentleman seems to be most justly liable for repair. The crazy condition of the Roof, and want of slates, makes it necessary that this controversy be speedily determined; unless (which perhaps will do as well) the Chapple be wholly taken away.

It seems probable that "this controversy" was not determined; nor was the bishop's alternative suggestion followed. Up to 1764 the chapel was the favoured place for marriages, naturally as being the more convenient. From that date until 1840 all marriages were solemnised in the parish church. Before this latter date the chapel found a better friend and neighbour, for Lord Brougham and Vaux, lineal descendant probably of its old friends the de Burghams, thoroughly repaired the fabric, restored the roof, and refitted and decorated the interior at great cost and with much taste.

Under heading "Clifton" on the same date as the above entry, Bishop Nicolson notes:—

I saw not the Registers of Brougham and this Parish: But the Rector (at whose house they are kept) assures me that they are each above 100 years old, and that the former gives a particular acct of King James the First entertainment (hunting, etc) at the Castle, as he returned this way from Scotland.

The then rector of Brougham and Clifton in plurality was Rowland Borrow. He lived in the large mansion at Eamont Bridge, which, after serving as "poor-house" for the West Ward, has now been partitioned into several tenements for artisans. If its walls could speak they might inform us as to the fate of the early registers of Brougham and Clifton, both lost to view.

The extant registers at Brougham date from 1681.

Copies for some 35 previous years are said to exist in the Diocesan Registry.

The bell at the parish church bears inscription, "Ninekirks 1625. R.A." Of two bells at the chapel one only remains.

The chalice, called the "Bird cup," is described in *Old Church Plate of the Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 209. A terrier of 1749 mentions a cover to the above cup.

The plate now in ordinary use (also described as above), though of Elizabethan date (so far as the chalice is concerned), was purchased in 1862.

A pewter patten and flagon are preserved at the rectory, and a black-letter Bible (date 1640) in excellent condition.

The vessels in use at the chapel are of silver gilt, with inscription "Adrien P." These vessels, along with pyx and monstrance (kept at Brougham), are by some supposed to have been anciently used in the chapel, but I have heard no conclusive evidence on this point.

The late Chancellor Ferguson, in his history of Carlisle Diocese, states that the vicar of Brougham still has the right of "Whittle-gate" at Hornby Hall each Sunday. This is incorrect. According to old terriers, the tenant of Hornby was bound to provide entertainment for the rector and the chief of his family on Christmas Day and Easter Day. The right was commuted, however, along with the tithe and other dues.

ART. XXIII.—*The Brunskills.* By the Rev. J. BRUNSKILL, Rector of Ormshed, Appleby.

Communicated at Penrith, August 28th, 1902.

SCRATCHMERE Scaur, a rocky hill in Plumpton, has acquired a world-known name by the finest of hunting songs, "John Peel." So in my opinion "Fox Tower" had historic fame added to its grand beauty on the day when Robert Southey strolled to Helbeck among the Cross Fell hills. He was a guest of the then rector of Brough, who told me nearly fifty years ago that on returning from the excursion the Poet Laureate gave him a copy of some verses written while resting in the rocky grove. The paper was carefully preserved, and Mr. Jefferson believed that he possessed the only copy till he saw "Brough Bells" in print.

I write in view of that figure-rock, and mention it because from that headland may be seen almost all the heaf of the Brunskill family spread over the Upper Eden Valley. And I beg a reprint of the poem as describing the qualities better than I can do in prose:

BROUGH BELLS.

By ROBERT SOUTHEY.

One day to Helbeck I had stroll'd
  Among the Crossfell hills,
And resting in its rocky grove
  Sat listening to the rills.

The while to their sweet undersong
  The birds sang blithe around,
And the soft west wind awoke the wood
  To an intermitting sound.

Louder or fainter as it rose,
Or died away, was borne
The harmony of merry bells,
From Brough that pleasant morn.

"Why are the merry bells of Brough,
My friend, so few?" said I,
"They disappoint th' expectant ear,
Which they should gratify.

"One, two, three, four; one, two, three, four;
'Tis still one, two, three, four,
Mellow and silvery are the tones;
But I wish the bells were more!"

"What! art thou critical?" quoth he;
"Eschew that heart's disease
That seeketh for displeasure where
The intent hath been to please.

"By those four bells there hangs a tale,
Which being told, I guess,
Will make thee hear their scanty peal
With proper thankfulness.

"Not by the Cliffords were they given,
Nor by the Tuftons' line;
Thou hearest in that peal the crune
Of old John Brunskill's kine.

"On Stanemore's side one summer eve,
John Brunskill sat to see
His herds in yonder Borrodale
Come winding up the lea.

"Behind them on the lowland's verge,
In the evening light serene,
Brough's silent tower, then newly built
By Blenkinsop, was seen.

"Slowly they came in long array,
With loitering pace at will;
At times a low from them was heard,
Far off, for all was still.

"The hills returned that lonely sound
Upon the tranquil air;
The only sound it was, which then
Awoke the echoes there.

"'Thou hear'st that lordly Bull of mine,
Neighbour,' quoth Brunskill then;
'How loudly to the hills he crunes,
That crune to him again,

"'Thinkest thou if yon whole herd at once
Their voices should combine,
Were they at Brough, that we might not
Hear plainly from this upland spot
That cruning of the kine?'

"'That were a crune indeed,' replied
His comrade, 'which I ween,
Might at the Spital well be heard,
And in all dales between.

"'Up Mallerstang to Eden's springs,
The eastern wind upon its wings,
The mighty voice would bear;
And Appleby would hear the sound,
Methinks, when skies are fair!'

"'Then shall the herd,' John Brunskill cried,
'From you dumb steeple crune,
And thou and I on this hill-side,
Will listen to their tune.

"'So while the merry bells of Brough,
For many an age ring on,
John Brunskill will remember'd be,
When he is dead and gone;

"'As one who in his latter years,
Contented with enough,
Gave freely what he well could spare
To buy the Bells of Brough.'

"Thus it hath proved: three hundred years
Since then have passed away,
And Brunskill's is a living name
Among us to this day."

"More pleasure," I replied, "shall I
From this time forth partake,
When I remember Helbeck woods,
For old John Brunskill's sake.

"He knew how wholesome it would be,
Among these wild wide fells,
And upland vales, to catch, at times,
The sound of Christian bells;

"What feelings and what impulses
Their cadence might convey,
To herdsman or to shepherd boy,
Whiling in indolent employ
The solitary day.

"That when his brethren were convened
To meet in social prayer,
He, too, admonished by the call,
In spirit might be there.

"Or when a glad thanksgiving sound,
Upon the winds of heaven,
Was sent to speak a nation's joy,
For some great blessing given—

"For victory by sea or land,
And happy peace at length;
Peace by his country's valour won,
And 'stablished by her strength;

"When such exultant peals were borne
Upon the mountain air,
The sound should stir his blood, and give
An English impulse there."

Such thoughts were in the old man's mind,
When he that eve look'd down
From Stanemor's side on Borrodale,
And on the distant town.

And had I store of wealth, methinks,
Another herd of kine,
John Brunskill, I would freely give,
That they might crune with thine.

In addition to turning the crune of his cattle into the merry bells of Brough, there is record that the same John Brunskill in the year 1506 founded an oratory where two priests were established. The duty laid upon one was to

teach singing and other scholarship, while the other was to preside over a hospital and furnish two beds for travellers on that flow road.

Of course the name "Spital" for what is now only a farm house, is all that is left to the poor of these plundered endowments. I have known several Brunskills who, migrating from Westmorland or the border of Cumberland were settled in London, but it is probable that the only person now bearing the name there is a visitor from Sandford, in Australia, whose father and mine were reared in that strong Westmorland village; and the few Brunskills in Ireland trace their home to Stainmore, whence an Oliver Brunskill emigrated under the usurper Cromwell.

Mr. Henry Oliver Brunskill, Dublin, is my chief informant, and shares my desire to learn the earlier home of the emigrant. My correspondent has had access in the library of Dublin University to Surtees' "History of Durham," our "Archæological Journals," Prendergast's "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," the Master of the Rolls Series, &c. He has drawn out an elaborate tree showing the pedigree from William Brunskill, of Startforth, who was a mounted archer under the banner of Lord Fitz Hugh at the Battle of Agincourt (3 Henry V.), of Ambrose who held lands for knightly service to Henry VI., Reginald, under Henry VII., and Philip of Barnard Castle, who in the time of Henry VIII. was seized of lands held by military service.

He mentions a Michael Brunskill who was Barrack Master at Stradbally in 1709, and a John Brunskill who was a Prebendary of Clonfert Cathedral. And although I desire none of the bogus arms assumed by persons who come of no armigerous family, I may quote Mr. Henry Oliver Brunskill's statement that the arms are as follows: Argent, a chevron sable, on a dexter canton of the second an escallop or; Crest, a demi-griffin holding between the claws an escallop. Another crest, out of a mural crown a cubit arm vested . . . cuffed, grasping an escallop:

Motto, "Fide et opera" (Harl MS. 1096, f. 3 and 1468 f. 125 b). In the two crests with the pilgrim shell, there may be evidence of the Crusaders.

It is a coincidence that John Brunskill of Holywell lately presented the only bell which can be rung in the ancient tower of Ormshed Church. And from John Brunskill of Brough who has during this year been highly honoured by his many friends in Kirkby Stephen I learn that there are two houses on Stainmore, "Oxenthwaite," and "Upman How," which are known to have been dwelling places of Brunskills for the last 300 years.

Sir Cuthbert Buckle, Lord Mayor of London, who died in 1594, in his will tells "I give to twenty poore maydens borne and dwelling in the parish of Brough under Staynemore in the County of Westmoreland where I was born to every of them twenty shillings to be paid unto them at the dayes of their marriages by the discretion of Mr Shaw vicar and eight of the ancient parishioners whereof my Cosen Peter Brunskill and Henry Ubank to be two of them and the two churchwardens there for the time being." And he mentions bequests to the children of his "Cosen" William Brunskill, his nephew Robert Brunskill, and three others of that name. Another more important proof of the loyal munificence of this successful dalesman was his legacy of £8 a year to twelve ancient parishioners of Brough for the maintenance of a schoolmaster to teach in a school to be built in "Staynemore." After the early death of this Lord Mayor a schoolhouse was built by the people, and its successor stands on the same site.

Sir Christopher Buckle, Kt., the only son of Lord Mayor Buckle, purchased a manor at Banstead, Surrey, known as the "Brough Estate," where the family long flourished, and its present lineal and direct descendant is Vice-Admiral C. M. Buckle. Ten years ago, in company with Major C. R. Buckle, Royal Artillery D.S.O., the admiral made a pilgrimage from the neighbouring village of Warcop to Stainmoor, and found the site of a house

still known as "Buckle's House" and "Buckle's Bridge" over the Bela, originally built by Sir Cuthbert Buckle about 1576.

The military fame of England has been made by the class of working statesmen or farmers who were trained like the Boers. And with the late Archbishop Benson I feel very proud of these independent old dalesmen of so many centuries, whose love of country life lives so in me, and I should be glad to think, if I could, that many other of their qualities lived too, for in peace or war they were the strength of free England.

THE PENNINGTON TYMPANUM. (FIG. I.)

Photo. by Dr. T. K. Fell.

THE PENNINGTON RUNES, FROM A CAST. (FIG. II.)

Photo. by S. B. Gaythorpe.

TO FACE P. 373.

ART. XXIV.—*The Runic Tympanum lately found at Pennington.* By HARPER GAYTHORPE, F.S.A., Scot.

Read at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

THE discovery on St. Patrick's Day, 1902, of a tympanum at Loppergarth, Pennington, bearing a sculptured figure of an angel and a Runic inscription of a Scandinavian type is a unique circumstance in the archæology of Furness.

The accompanying photograph (No. 1) shows the stone in its present position over the doorway of an out-building at Beckside Farm. It is 4ft. ½in. long, 2ft. ½in. high, and 8½ins. thick, and is of local red sandstone. The background of the angelic figure is one inch below the surface of the stone, and the wings about half an inch. The head rests upon the projecting arms of a cross or cruciferous nimbus. The Runic letters are incised, but owing to the action of time and weather many of them have been obliterated. Those remaining are shown about one-fifth full size in No. 2, taken from a photograph of plaster casts made from a "squeeze." The ornamentation at the base of the tympanum, a small portion of which is shown at the bottom of this photograph, points to late Transitional Norman—twelfth century. At the commencement of the inscription the stone is broken away, and at some past time it has evidently been lime-washed, for in the grooves of the semi-circles and in other places traces of lime can still be seen. The Rev. T. Edge Wright of Fell Mount, Pennington, called the attention of Dr. T. K. Fell of Barrow-in-Furness to the stone, who, observing the Runic letters, at once saw its value and importance. He subsequently photographed it, and afterwards I took a rubbing and squeeze-tracing. Figs. I. and

II. are from the *Reliquary;* the blocks kindly lent by Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.

The tympanum has evidently belonged to the doorway of the church at Pennington, which existed from a remote period. It can be shown to have been in existence in the time of King Henry I.—that is, prior to A.D. 1135. By a mandate of William, Earl of Warrenne, son of King Stephen—which could not be earlier than A.D. 1153, for he did not obtain his father's estates till after that date—the church at Pennington was commanded to be restored to Furness Abbey, from whom it had been appropriated by the brethren of Conishead of the gift of Gamel de Pennington.

I therefore advise, command and enjoin unto all, that whatsoever properties appertaining to the Abbey, which it possessed in the year and on the day King Henry died, by whomsoever they may have been taken and appropriated must be fully restored to it without delay or trouble, especially its church of Pennington, and another Religious Order shall not be commenced in its fee, against the will of the Convent; and assart Ireleth, and all things taken away, and all assart [cleared land] which was in the forest of my alms after the death of King Henry, all these the Abbot of Furness shall re-take into his own hands, nor elsewhere throughout all Furness must any Religious House be established without the license and testimony of my assent.*

The church at Pennington is also referred to in a grant dated sometime between A.D. 1175 and 1187 to the monks of St. Mary of Furness, of Fordebodele, Crivelton and Roose, and in the advowson of the church of Urswick with the chapels (of Pennington and Ulverston), together with Bardsea and its fisheries. Among the witnesses to this grant were Richard, master of the hospital [of Conishead, or of Loppergarth, Pennington]; Daniel, the parson of Aldingham; Benedict de Pennington, and Alan and Alexander his sons, and eight others. (Seal of William de Furnesia.) †

* *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, pp. 126-7.
† *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster*, Box B 2, S.D., No. 50.

Until A.D. 1208 the chapels of Ulverston and Pennington belonged to Urswick Church, and at that date the monks of Furness gave up all claim conditionally.*

The dedication of Pennington Church to St. Leonard is referred to in the will of Richard Fell of Pennington, dated 12th October, 1478, of which part reads as follows:—

"In Dei nomine Amē xij° die me(nsis) Octobr' anno Dn. (M) cccclxxviij° Ego Ricūs Fell de Penyngton cōpos m(entis) sane memorie videns piclū mort' apppinquare ordino facio . . . . testamentū meū in hūc modū. Inp^is lego āīam meā Deo ōipotenti b'te . . . . ōibȝ scīs corpusqȝ meū ad sepeliend' in eccl'ia scī leonardi de Pen(yngton) mortuario meo meā optīam togā et alia bona se'dū usū pochie. It' leg . . . . . p'dicanc' videli't loncastr' carliol' Sancto Roberto de Knaresburgh . . . . . eo' xx^d . . . . ."

(TRANSLATION.)

In the name of God, Amen. On the xii^th day of the month of October Anno Domini 1478, I Richard Fell of Pennington of sound mind and perfect memory seeing the peril of death approach, ordain make (and publish) my will in this manner. In the first place I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, (to blessed Mary) and all the Saints and my body to be buried in the Church of St. Leonard of Pen(nington) For my mortuary my best cloak and other goods according to the usuage of the Parish. Item I bequeath to the following Chantries, namely, Lancaster, Carlisle, and St. Robert of Knaresburgh (. . . . .) xx^d (each ?) . . . .

In one of Dr. Close's unpublished MSS., written about 1810, he states that the church at Pennington contained "remains of a larger fabric, as is evident from several round-topped arches being incorporated in the north side wall. The great doorway on the south is a circular arch, with a chevron or zigzag moulding." It is somewhat singular that no mention is made of a tympanum, but

* *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, pp. 437-8.

according to Mr. T. Alcock-Beck, who made copies of the MSS., they were left in such a confused state that it is not improbable some reference to the tympanum may have been made and lost, or the tympanum may have been plastered over.

When the church at Pennington was rebuilt in 1826, the ancient dedication to St. Leonard seems to have been unknown. The late J. P. Morris, F.A.S.L., once stated to Dr. T. K. Fell that the dedication to St. Michael was given from the fact that what was taken to be a representation of that saint had been found in one of the windows of the previous church—or possibly this stone gave the idea of St. Michael. Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., informs me that the cruciferous nimbus is usually supposed to be an attribute of Christ in Christian art,* so that it is unusual to find an angel with a nimbus of this kind.

In the grounds at Fell Mount are several carved red sandstones, which have been part of the ancient church at Pennington. These stones are apparently Transitional Norman and of about the same date as the tympanum, and have formed parts of the capitals of octagonal pillars. Each of these stones has had carved on it four human heads in high relief. The largest stone (Fig. 3) measures 2ft. 3¼ins. across, and it is 13½ins. high. The three smaller stones are each 2ft. 2ins. across and 9½ins. high. The carved heads on the largest stone (Fig. 3) are 5ins. high and 4ins. wide, while those on the three smaller stones are 5ins. high and 3ins. wide—one only of the latter having a beard. So far as is at present known, these stones and the octagonal-shaped font (which was formerly with the carved stones at Fell Mount, but has recently

* Miss Stokes' translation of Didron's *Christian Iconography*, vol. i., p. 40. (In Mrs. Twining's *Christian Symbols*, &c., p 204, it is noted that "in Saxon subjects the rays of the nimbus frequently pass beyond the line of the circle," giving an example from an eleventh-century MS.—the wheel-cross of the period, in fact. Here the circle seems to be absent; only the arms of the cross appear. —Ed.)

CARVED STONE AT FELL MOUNT, PENNINGTON. (FIG. III.)

Photo. by S. B. Gaythorpe.

TO FACE P. 376.

been removed into the church) are all that remain of the ancient church at Pennington.

About 100 yards from Beckside Farm is the traditional site of a leper hospital. Little is known of its existence, but there is some record which the name Loppergarth (leper inclosure) confirms.* Near Ragged (Ragot) or Old Gill, about three-quarters of a mile north of Beckside Farm, is a field a little more than three acres in extent, known since the latter half of the eighteenth century as "Hospital." At an earlier date this field may have been endowed land belonging to a hospital at Pennington, but so far I have been unable to trace any connection between it and the leper hospital at Loppergarth.

In bringing before you the account of this tympanum, I wish to express my sense of obligation to the Rev. T. Edge Wright for permission to photograph the carved stones at Fell Mount, and to Dr. T. K. Fell, whose researches into the history and antiquities of Furness are well known. Had it not been for his knowledge of Runic inscriptions, this find—the first of its kind ever discovered in Furness—might still have remained unknown.

NOTE.—When the Pennington tympanum was discovered, Dr. Fell and Mr. Gaythorpe kindly sent me photographs and rubbings, from which, however, it was impossible to get a satisfactory reading. Since then I have had the opportunity of examining the stone itself at leisure and in a good light, and found that many of the marks in the photograph and cast are natural cleavage-cracks, weathered out. In Fig. 1 you can see a series of lines crossing the picture diagonally—from north-east to south-west, one might say, if the tympanum were a map. These cracks, where they come into contact with the Rune-staves, are hopeless to disentangle in the best photograph or cast; but in the real thing they can be more or less distinguished by a difference in the texture of their edges from the artificial clearness of the cut letters. For instance in the sixth

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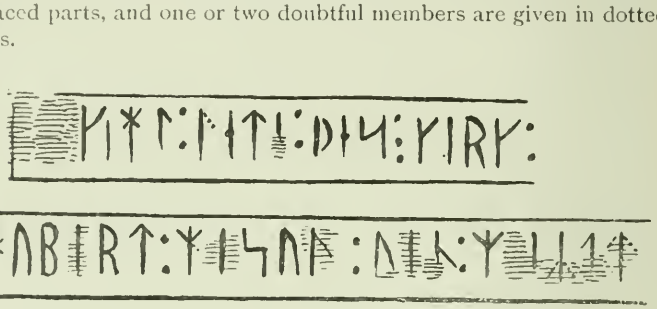
* *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, p. 411. Will of William de Skelmersherk, A.D. 1247:—"Item Leprosis juxta Ulverston vid. Leprosis juxta Coninghede," &c.

word, the strong line crossing the second letter is a natural crack. There seem to be eight words in all, and the rest of the space has not been inscribed. The first two or three letters have been broken away; in the sketch subjoined, the horizontal shading shows the defaced parts, and one or two doubtful members are given in dotted lines.



(. .) (K or M) I A L : (L or S ?) E T (I or E) : T H E S A : K I R K :
H U B (I?) R T : M (I or E?) S U (L or N) : U (I?) (N?) : M (.) (I?) (Y?) A (T?)

These are late Scandinavian Runes, less English in character than those of the Bridekirk font, but not quite the same as the "Dolfin" inscription in Carlisle Cathedral; and, of course, quite different from the much earlier Anglian Runes of Bewcastle Cross. One is apt to be suspicious of a new discovery in Runes, but these have an appearance of genuine antiquity. In twelfth-century tympana, the inscription usually records the dedication—"So-and-so built this church in honour of such-and-such a saint." We know that Gamel de Pennington gave the church to Conishead in the time of Henry II. (see Mr. Farrer's *Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, p. 357), and the architecture suggests that it might have been built in his time. Dr. Fell's first idea was that the first word was K M L and stood for Gamel. Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon, who points out to me that the third letter of this first word (as it stands) is a form undoubtedly used sometimes for A, also suggests in comparison the old form NURUIAK for *Norveg* in the Jellinge stone inscription, where also the spelling IAS for *es* occurs. The first word then may very reasonably be taken to have been (KA)MIAL for *Gamel*. Mr. Magnússon goes on to say, "If the first rune in the next word could be the short half-stroke which is a not uncommon form of the letter S in later runes, we should have SETI (*setti*) = 'established,' 'founded.' Then, with the short half-stroke for S again, THESA (*thessa*) and KIRK (*kirkiu*) would give 'Gamel founded this church.' *Setja* is quite a technical term in this connection,—*setja stad*, to found a church benifice; *setja klaustr*, to found a monastery; *setja musteri*, to found a minster; *setja kirkju*, to

set up a church on a site where none was before." To this it might be answered that Pennington seems to have had a church before Gamel built this one; but still the word may have been used of his new foundation—if indeed we can read an S.

Mr. Magnússon continues, "The next three words I venture, hesitatingly, to read *Hubert mesun van(n)*, 'Hubert the mason wrought (built) . . . . .'" Dr. Fell had previously suggested "Hubert" and "mason," but as Mr. Magnússon makes the suggestion independently, great support is given to this reading.

The last word is still a puzzle. The initial M is clear, and *mynd*, "the picture" or figure of the angel, would make sense, but does not fill out the line. Mr. Magnússon says, "I cannot, to my satisfaction, make out of it *Mikial*, Michael, and yet I feel that the winged figure may possibly represent that Archangel."—(Ed.)

ART. XXV.—*On some ancient Sculptures of the Devil Bound.* By W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

Communicated at Seascale, June 11th, 1902.

IN the garden of Tullie House, Carlisle, an old carved stone has been lying for some years. It is of red sandstone, measuring 21 inches in height, 27 by 20 near the base, and 20 by 16 on the top surface, which contains a square hole, measuring 12 by 10 inches, possibly for use as the socket-hole of a cross-shaft.

There are many such socket stones from which the shafts have been lost; two well-known examples with elaborate carving on them exist at Beckermet (St. John's) and Brigham (in the church tower). These, however, are pre-Norman, while the Tullie House stone is carved in the style of the twelfth century, with four reliefs on the four sides.

Mr. L. E. Hope, the curator, kindly had photographs taken by Mr. Tassell; but as the relief is low and the stone weather-worn, it is not an easy subject for the photographer. I have made my sketches (Figs. 1 to 4) partly from original drawings and partly from these photographs, trying to interpret the forms as far as I can in plain black and white.

One side (Fig. 1.) represents a dragon with four large feet, each of them three-toed and spurred, and a very long serpent-like neck—as it seems, but so involved that I literally can't make head or tail of it. Another side (Fig. 2) has a great griffin or bird, with a head like an eagle's, looking over its back, closed wing, two legs with powerful talons, and a long tail which shows that the creature is not just a common eagle, but a symbolic monster. On the third side (Fig. 3) is a rude human figure standing by

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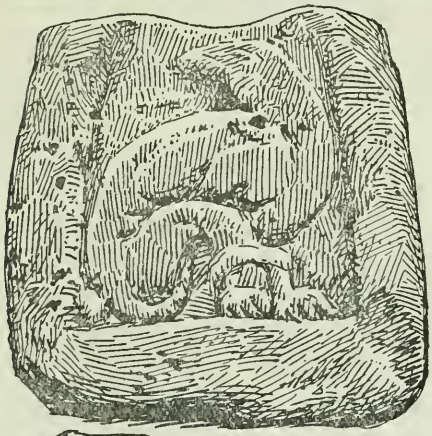

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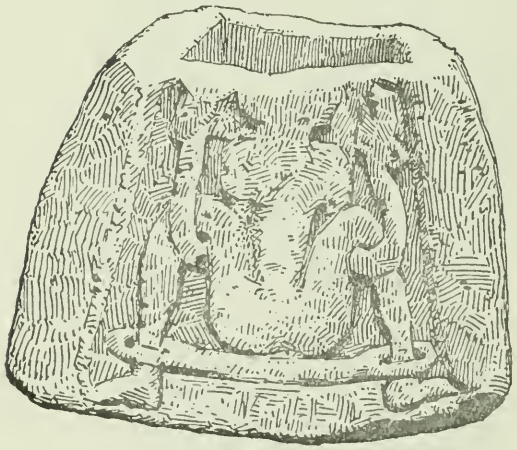
5 Laocoon! Cloisters of St. J. Lateran



4 Loki! Garden of Tullie House

a quadruped which has more resemblance to an ox or bullock than anything else; the man is "holding the bull by the horns," and the creature is throwing its head back and thrusting forward a fine dewlap. The fourth side (Fig. 4) exhibits a rude, semi-human figure, whose arms, turning into serpents, are locked under his knees, and his ankles are shackled into a rigid bar, as of iron.

These four creatures cannot be meant for Evangelists. If—as I think is probable—they were at the foot of a cross, they must have been meant as the dragon was meant when it is found on the cross-bases at Brigham and Beckermet. We find parallel ideas in the serpent beneath the Lamb on the Gosforth "Fishing Stone," and beneath the little human figure on the Penrith hogback, and beneath the Christ in resurrection on the Burton shaft; and, again, the swine-heads under the feet of Christ in blessing on the Bewcastle cross. The cross implies the presence of Christ; the dragon, serpent, or swine mean the powers of evil nature, sin and death. These four monsters are probably meant to represent four aspects of evil overcome, and in subjection to the cross.

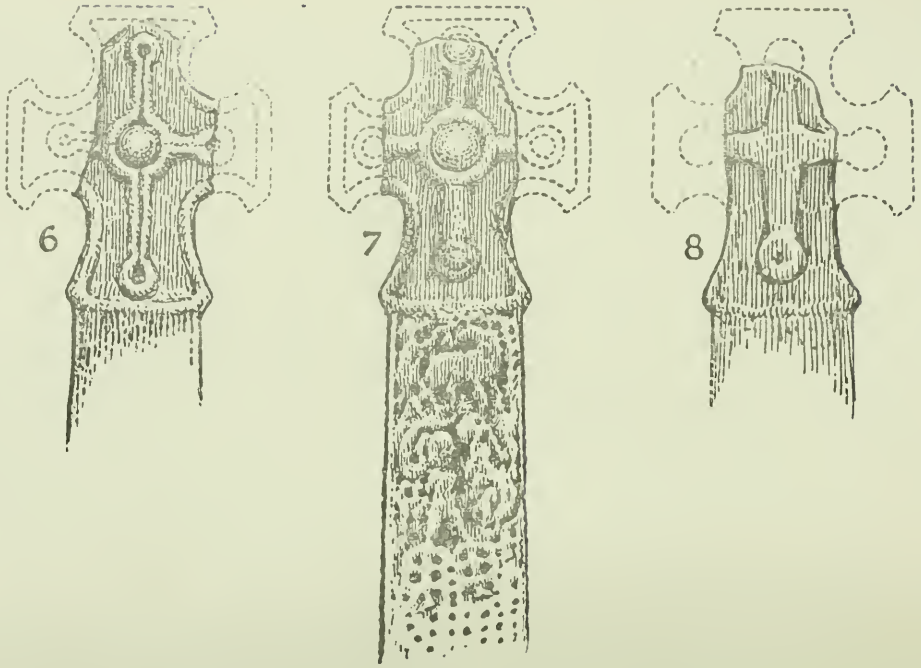
But why do we find these four creatures, only one of which is a dragon, to symbolise evil powers in subjection? Perhaps we may get some light on their meaning from the saga-story of the four Land-wights of Iceland, as told in the Heimskringla. In the old heathen days, it was said, the King of Denmark sent a wizard to Iceland to get revenge on the people there for ridiculing him in their songs. The wizard turned himself into a whale, and swam to the eastern shore of the island. There he saw a great dragon which scared him away with its venom. Then he tried the north coast, but he was met by a gigantic bird which drove him off. On the west coast he was opposed by a monstrous bull; and he had no better luck in the south, where a man-giant kept guard with an iron staff. These were the four Land-wights or guardian spirits of heathen Iceland.

This story, however, as Mr. Eiríkr Magnússon points out to me, is a purely Icelandic legend, and of a very late date (c. 985.) He suggests that the first figure may represent the Midgarth-worm or the Fenrir's Wolf (both of which we know on the Gosforth Cross, etc.)—the second, the wind-giant Hræsvelgr (corpse-swallower) "who sits at the end of the world in the likeness of an *eagle*, from under the wings of whom, when he taketh to flight, winds proceed," Edda (younger) I. 80. In the third he sees Thor, in the guise of a young man, tearing off the head of Ymir's finest ox, Himinbrjótr (Heaven-breaker) to bait his hook for the Midgarth-worm:—we are familiar with the subject in the Gosforth "Fishing Stone." "Hræsvelgr sitting at the end of the world, *i.e.*, on the sea-shore, would not inaptly lend himself to a symbolic indication of a fishing excursion further out at sea than any that the fisher-giant Ymir had ever known:" so that these three might illustrate Thor's fishing.

"The fourth figure," he continues, "seems unmistakably to represent one going through the peculiar form of torture of having the knee-houghs drawn so high up that the elbow-joints could be pressed through them; the hands being presumably tied to the neck, or behind it. Perhaps this is but a variation of the punishment inflicted on Loki, following some unknown recension of the myth."

The crouching attitude is very nearly that shown in Fig. 5, copied from an unpublished sketch by the late Prof. Ruskin, a spandril in St. John Lateran at Rome. Mr. Ruskin noted the resemblance of his subject to Laocoon; and the Tullie House figure, with limbs ending in snakes, is like the Greek conception of Typhon and the mountain-giants; but in both we can see variants of a well-known ancient type, the devil bound.

The late Prof. George Stephens gave a series of examples of this subject in his volume intended to controvert Prof. S. Bugge's *Studies in Northern Mythology*; and though we need not accept all his conclusions, the



CROSS-HEADS OF THE GIANT'S GRAVE, PENRITH.

illustrations and information have an especial interest for us, because in that book he showed how the Loki on Gosforth cross and the Bound Devil at Kirkby Stephen were analogous to the devil bound in hell in the tenth century MS. of Cædmon, on the one hand, and on the other to twelfth century sculptures in Denmark and Normandy.

To the examples he gave more have since been added. Mr. P. M. C. Kermode, F.S.A., Scot., has shown Loki Bound on the Kirk Andreas cross (I.O.M.), and Mr. Calverley suggested (*Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 247) that the figures dimly seen on the eastern cross of the Giant's Grave at Penrith had a similar meaning—Loki shackled, Sigyn his wife beside him, the serpent over his head, and the Lamb standing above the group. I cannot help thinking that the last may be meant for the sacred Hart with the Hound or Wolf, as in the Dacre shaft (*Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 114) and at Gosforth (*ibid.* p. 156) but it is not clear; and indeed it matters little to our present purpose. In Fig. 7 I have tried to sketch this from the cross itself, using also the help of a photograph from Mr. Calverley's cast, and restoring in dotted lines the probable shape of the cross-head. Fig. 6 is the other side of the same cross; Fig. 8 is the cross at the other end of the Giant's Grave.

Prof. Stephens thought that this subject might be early Anglian, and put a much more distant date on the Gosforth and other monuments than seems tenable. He might perhaps have found some support to his theory in the form of the Giant's Grave cross-heads, which are free-armed, not wheel-crosses, and—unlike the Thumb and the three Gosforth heads—distinctly connected with that Anglo-Cumbrian group which has a superimposed cross in relief, with bosses in the centre and at the ends of the four little arms. This fashion seems to have begun in the abbey and cathedral cross-heads at Carlisle, and to have run through the north of our district, as shown in the

white stone cross-heads at Beckermet, Bridekirk, Crosscanonby, Dearham, Kirkby Stephen, and Penrith. It is an earlier style than the wheel-head at Gosforth, but with it, at Penrith, we have the Loki group as at Gosforth. The inference appears to be that Anglian population and traditions remained in greater force in the east of Cumberland than in the west, after the Viking settlement, as of course must have been the case, for the invaders came chiefly by sea and settled chiefly on the coast. The Gosforth cross is Norse with Irish motives; the Penrith Giant's Grave is English with Norse motives. Both might be of much the same date, differing only in features which show the style predominating in the neighbourhood. At Halton we have an apparently later cross, wholly Anglian in general design, but with the distinctly foreign story of Sigurd the Volsung told upon it; not proving that the story of Sigurd was known to Angles of the Bewcastle cross period, but that the art traditions of the Bewcastle cross lingered for 300 years, gradually degenerating. We may therefore put all our monuments bearing the Bound Devil into one class, and date them not earlier than the Viking settlement, whatever types of ornament we find in them.

But the notion of Loki or Satan bound, having once taken root, did not easily die out. In the Shetlands, we are told (Sagabook of the Viking Club, iii., p. 7), snow is called "lucky wool," which is obviously parallel to the Danish name of snow, "Loki's oats," and the Icelandic, "Loki's flame." In the same volume (p. 53), the Rev. R. M. Heanley says that in 1858 or 9 he was told by a Lincolnshire witch of a charm against ague—to nail up three horseshoes (points upward), saying verses which began with an invocation to the Trinity, and ended thus:

Thrice I smite with the Holy Crok,
With this mell I thrice do knock,
One for God,
And one for Wod,
And one for Lok.

The holy crock or mell must be Thor's hammer, and the trinity of witchcraft is Thor, Odin, and Loki!

If the very name has lasted so long, the idea must have been well known in the twelfth century in Scandinavian Cumberland as in other countries where the Scandinavian element was strong. In confusing the Land-wight with Loki (if they did so) the descendants of the Vikings, removed by several generations from any living faith in paganism, were not doing much violence to mythology, for both were giant nature-powers. To identify them would be no greater strain on popular belief than identifying Loki with the Satan of the Bible. Whether the four monsters of the Tullie House stone represent ideas such as those of the Icelandic story or not, in this shackled giant we have one more example of a curious series—another link between ancient Cumbria and Scandinavia, and a fresh illustration of Christian symbolism in a dark age.

PROCEEDINGS.

First Meeting: Seascale.

ON Wednesday the 11th and Thursday the 12th of June, 1902, the Society met in the Gosforth district, the committee for local arrangements being Mr. J. S. Ainsworth, Dr. Parker, the Rev. Rees Keene, and the Hon. Secretaries. Among the members and friends present were the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness and Mrs. Ware; Judge Steavenson, with Mrs. and the Misses Steavenson; Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson, with Dr. Munro of Edinburgh; Canon Bower; Dr. Barnes; Dr. Haswell; the Rev. J. Whiteside; Colonel Sewell; Mr. W. I. R. Crowder; Mr. and Mrs. Carrick; Mr. and Mrs. Alan Curwen; Mr. Stephen Marshall and the Misses Marshall; Mr. R. E. Leach; Dr. Newman, of Tullie House; Mr. Gaythorpe; Mr. J. H. Martindale; Mr. W. G. Groves; Mr. Little, Chapel Ridding; Mr. A. B. Clarke; Mr. Wilson Butler; Miss Noble; Miss Collingwood and Miss Metcalfe-Gibson; the Rev. Canon Hudson, of Thornton, Lincolnshire; the Rev. E. E. Stock; the Rev. W. H. Wilkinson; the Rev. W. S. Sykes; the Rev. W. R. Hopper; the Rev. C. F. Husband; Miss Gough; Miss Quirk; Mr. W. N. Thompson and Miss Thompson, of St. Bees; Mr. W. H. Watson, of Gosforth; the Rev. R. H. Snape; Mr. Patrickson, of Scales; Mr. Wrigley, of Seascale; Mr. James Tyson, of Gosforth; Mr. M. E. Yeates; Mrs. Todd, of Harraby; Miss Thompson, of Workington; Mr. and Miss Metcalf, Whitehaven; Mr. Marshall; Ald. McAleer, Workington; Mrs. Highet; Miss Thompson, Parkend, Workington; Mrs. R. H. Hodgson; Mr. J. Greenop; the Rev. Rees Keene and Mrs. Keene; Dr., Mrs., and Miss Parker, of Gosforth; Mr. Titus Wilson; Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Curwen; and the Editor.

Leaving Sellafield Station at half-past twelve on the Wednesday, the party drove to St. Bridget's Church, Beckermet, where the Editor briefly described the ancient monuments in the churchyard (see Calverley's *Early Sculptured Crosses*, pp. 26-33), followed by Dr. Parker, who called attention to the cup-markings on the base of the inscribed cross, and gave particulars about the ancient altar slab and bells. He said that the chancel arch was apparently thirteenth century. The south porch and door, south door to chancel, and two windows with round-headed lights were done away with before 1840. A cross head was said to be built into the east wall, and

covered with roughcast. The stone altar slab, which was found in the floor and placed in its present position by the Rev. A. G. Loftie, bore five incised crosses. A credence table in new St. Bridget's, Calderbridge, formed by a stone brought from the abbey, bore five similar crosses, and was thought to have been a portable altar. The bells of old St. Bridget's were pre-Reformation, not later than 1450—a pair, from the same foundry. The north bell bore MARIA and the south JHESS, in Lombardic capitals—each having in addition a slip of geometrical ornament and three letters close together not yet deciphered. Each bell bore near the rim the founder's mark, a large Lombardic capital T upside down.

The party called for luncheon at the White Mare, Beckermet; and, on the invitation of Mr. J. D. Thompson, inspected his collection at Barwickstead. Among the relics shown were a large stone hammer from Ulpha, a small pierced stone (probably a sinker for fishing nets), a small celt of hard stone, and a great stone axe (of slate, with brown veins) found at the Boggles, near the mouth of the Ehen. Mr. William Little mentioned that he had a stone axe, resembling this last, found in building his house at Chapel Ridding, Windermere. A cast of the axe, with the haft of beech wood attached, found in Gibb Tarn in 1871 (now in the British Museum), was also shown, together with a valuable and interesting museum of antiquities and curiosities of various dates and origins, among which were several querns from Caernarvon Castle.

After returning thanks to Mr. Thompson for his entertainment, the party crossed the road and were met by the Rev. W. Gabbott at St. John's Church. The Editor pointed out the ancient sculptured stones in which the site is rich (see Calverley's book already quoted, pp. 34-38), and Dr. Parker described the fonts, grave-slabs, pitch-pipes, and other antiquities of the church. The thirteenth century door, one of the finest in Cumberland, is said to have come from the chapel at Caernarvon Castle, though it is more reasonable to suppose that it is part of the fine Early English church which must have existed here. The great slab outside must have covered the grave of a Le Fleming of Caernarvon Castle. The pre-Reformation font can hardly be later than 1500. It is at present in Mr. Isaac Selkirk's yard, is of red sandstone, plain, massive, octagonal, 29ins. high exclusive of the base (which is missing), and 33in. broad, the diameter of the deep bowl being 20in. Staple marks, central drain, and groove for lead lining. The chalice has a slight lip, a band of foliage ornament, and inscription :—

+ THIS + BELONGETH + TO + THE + PARISH + OF + ST JOHN +

Date about 1680.

The coaches were next stopped in view of the site of Caernarvon Castle, and Dr. Parker gave an account of the place (Art. XII.).

At Calder Abbey Mr. Rymer cordially received the visitors, and Dr. Parker led them round the ruins. He remarked that the late Mr. Thomas Rymer's energetic efforts to preserve and fully reveal the beauty of this venerable ruin will be appreciated by all who have visited Calder Abbey, and even more by those who visit it long years hence. The wall tops have long since been cleared of the trees, which were disrupting them, and have been filled with cement. Loose stones have been fixed, holes filled up, and feeble parts propped. Sir John le Fleming's effigy has been fixed upon a plain tomb built over the stone coffin believed to contain his bones, and on the other side of the chancel, or presbytery, similar tombs carry the effigies of de Leybourne, Sir Richard le Fleming, and an unknown knight. In placing de Leybourne's tomb a loose fragment of the effigy was found. The shield bears a label, and may refer to Sir Roger de Leybourne, born about 1250, who married Idonea de Veteripoint, one of the heiresses of the barony of Westmorland, and died 1282-3, leaving no issue, being, I think, killed in the Welsh wars, like his brother-in-law Roger de Clifford, who married the other heiress. Both were under 40, so that Leybourne's father might have been living. If not the tomb of Roger, it may be that of Robert de Leybourne of Elliscales, in the parish of Dalton, M.P. for Westmorland in 1314, who married Sarah, sister of the ill-fated Sir Andrew de Harcla. He died before 1328, at which date his widow held lands in Gosforth. The figure of the unknown knight appears to be made up of parts of two distinct effigies. The old question concerning the uncertain fret on the broken shield of the effigy attributed to Sir John le Fleming gave rise to considerable discussion. Dr. Parker went on to say:—In 1901, Mr. Rymer cleared the chancel, tower, and first bay of the nave of the earth and debris which filled them, which has disclosed the bases of the tower piers, and added greatly to the dignity of the arches. The foundations are reached at a depth varying from 18ins. to 2ft., below which the ground is full of large irregular blocks of freestone. All traces of the east wall of the chancel, altar, and altar steps have disappeared—no doubt, because these stones were so easy to remove. At the first bay of the nave the lower course of a screen has been disclosed, extending across the nave, with a doorway in the centre, which formerly led from the choir of the lay brethren to the monks' choir, and would be used for processional purposes. On the south side, it is a screen only; on the north, a solid structure, probably the pulpitum, from the top of which the Epistle and Gospel were sung at festivals. The tower piers vary in level, but

the arches do not appear to be distorted by sinking. Buck's view (1760) shows the south half of the screen standing, with two stone figures in niches. It also shows the south wall of the church *in situ* with narrow single windows, vaulting corbels, and a handsome *central* doorway into the cloister. On the arcade of the north aisle, believed to be the work of Thomas de Multon, the ornamentation of the capital of the third pillar from the west, is identical with that on the hoodmould of the windows of the great hall of Egremont Castle, also attributed to him. The north wall of the north transept, which has been terribly robbed, has been partly restored with old blocks of stone by Mr. Rymer. The top of the west wall of the south transept has evidently been rebuilt after Bruce's raid, and the row of corbels marks merely the full height of the abbey when restored on a reduced scale. In the south-west corner of the space above the vaulted roof of the chapel in the south transept is a built-up opening like a doorway, and on the other side of the wall, almost directly opposite to this, is a small triangular chamfered hole on a level which comes between the groined roof of the chapter-house and the floor of the room above it. This curious feature was much discussed, but no solution found. The excavations outside the chapter-house showed a double offset to the wall, and the bases of two large buttresses. Inside the chapter-house Mr. Rymer removed the modern broken flags which covered the coffin of an abbot. The skeleton, which was entire, was carefully inspected, not disturbed, and a new chamfered stone cover placed over it. No object of metal or wood could be seen. This grave has been ascribed to Robert de Wilughby, abbot about 1350; but his grave-slab, which is in existence, does not show the signs of wear which we should expect to see on a stone which had for 200 years formed the centre of the floor of the daily-used chapter-house. The remains of a modern shed built of old stones was removed, and the threshold of the chapter-house door found amongst them and replaced. Various architectural fragments have been found, and in the centre of the chancel the workmen unearthed the missing end of the Leybourne effigy, showing that the legs had been crossed and the feet rested on a double lion, which perhaps referred to the family arms, six lions rampant. Also :—

Various well-carved fragments of limbs in chain mail, some of which seem to belong to the figure of the unknown knight.
Part of a grave cover with Lombardic lettering.
Small head of a monk with cowl and tonsure.
Two hands holding an open book from a figure of the same size as the last.
Body of a figure of similar size in a monk's gown.
A right hand grasping a staff, life size.
Small head of a sheep (?), apparently enrichment of carving of a canopy.

Fragment of a fluted piscina or stoup.

About 18 rough sandstone roofing flags three-quarters of an inch thick, each with one nail hole, similar to those found at Gosforth Church and at the Gosforth Holy Well, two fragments beautifully carved with ropes, and circular depressions in set of three—one of which fragments has been repaired by the insertion of a piece of stone accurately let in, evidently part of some important decoration.

A leaden spoon.

A piece of sheet lead.

The effigy of de Leybourne has been placed with its feet to the west, as in that position the arms, &c., are better seen. This has provoked free criticism, on the dictum that all (?) effigies and burials in the church were laid with their feet to the east. Three very large and aged trees formerly stood in close proximity to the tower, one of them standing within the church. The most dangerous of these—an enormous ash—was removed some years ago. The butt proved a mere shell of bark, the whole being ready to go in the next storm, when it must inevitably have fallen on the tower. Ten minutes' work with the axe sufficed to throw it safely. The excavations proved that these trees were doing much more harm than had been supposed, and it was decided to take down the beech which grew in the church. Preparations were made on the Monday with a view to throwing it in the only safe direction—the north-east. That night the great storm of November 12th arose, and the gardeners lay awake quaking for the safety of the abbey. In the morning they hurried up just in time to see the tree fall—exactly right. The earth adhering to the root was soon picked away, and out dropped a skull. Being interested in the tomb question the men at once made investigation, and found the skeleton lying just below the level of the church floor, due north and south, the feet being to the south. Beside it lay another, the feet of which were to the north. Both were adult males, of no great stature. Dr. Parker has added another abbot to Mr. Loftie's list—Adam, abbot soon after 1200, chief witness to the first charter granted by Richard de Lucy to the burgesses of Egremont.

After making the round of the abbey and grounds and inspecting the finds discovered in recent excavations, the visitors were entertained to tea by Mr. and Mrs. Rymer, to whom a hearty vote of thanks was accorded on the motion of the Chairman of Council. Leaving by the Long Walk, beside the picturesque river, the coaches were met at Calderbridge about 5-30, and the next halt was made at Ponsonby Church, where Dr. Parker again acted as cicerone.

The church, which stands in the park, was restored in 1874, the thirteenth century chancel arch being then heightened several feet,

and the piscina, which was found in the churchyard, replaced near the altar. In the chancel windows are some fragments of old stained glass brought from Dalegarth Hall showing arms of Hutton, Hutton and Briggs, and fragment of Stanley and Briggs. (Sir Richard Hutton, Kt., of Goldsborough, m. circa 1690 Agnes, dau. and co-heir of Thomas Briggs of Cawmire, Westmorland. Her sister Ann married Edward Stanley.) There is also a brass in memory of a former lady of the abbey, inscribed in black letters:—

> Here lyeth the bodye of Frances Patryckson daugh-
> -ter to Sir Thomas Whyet Knight one of the most
> honorable pryve Councell to Kinge henerye the VIII
> Some tyme wyfe of Thomas lighe of Calder & at the
> day of her death wyfe of William patryckson gentleman.
>
> God gave this wyfe a mynde to praye in grones and pangs of deth
> & to heaven elevating hands and eyes smylinglye to yeld breth
> And thus at age lvi to grave she toke her waye
> God grante that she & we may mete in joye at the last daye
>
> She dyed the xvi of Julii in the yere of our Lord 1578.

Also a monument to Thomas Curwen of Sellapark, 1653, with quaint figures symbolising Labour and Rest. It is surrounded by carved stone, with nailhead ornament of much older date. The arms are Curwen, quartering Brun, impaling Sanderson. In the chancel are two small grave-slabs, and on the outside of the south wall, which shows fragments of all ages, a third. These were described in the last volume of the *Transactions*. The chalice is Newcastle make, 1670-1684.

It was noticed that the valuable old glass was not protected by wire netting on the outside, as is usual in such cases. The churchyard cross on the south-side of the church—a plain shaft, oblong in section, and standing on a massive base—seems to have been cut down, and the upper end chamfered to hold a sundial, which has disappeared.

On leaving Ponsonby Church a pleasant drive brought the party to the Scawfell Hotel, Seascale. The weather had been cold and threatening in the morning, but had cleared up for a fine afternoon. It was only late in the evening that rain fell.

Before dinner a Council Meeting was held, at which the date of the next meeting was fixed and a local committee appointed to carry out the arrangements at Penrith and Keswick. Mr. T. H. Hodgson was deputed to co-operate with the Rev. J. Wharton of South Stainmore in opening cairns at Stainmore. Mr. Hodgson reported that, owing to the kindness of Mr. R. D. Marshall in defraying the expenses of labour in the excavation of Lord's Island, Derwentwater,

the grant of the Society for that purpose had been left untouched; and he proposed that the grant be applied to the digging of the site known as Derwentwater Castle on Castlerigg, which was carried unanimously.

After dinner, at which the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness took the chair, the Annual Meeting of the Society was held. All the officers of the Society were re-appointed, with the exception of Mr. Joseph Swainson, who retired from the Council. His place was filled, on the motion of the Chairman of Council, by Dr. Charles Arundel Parker, F.S.A., Scot., of Park Nook, Gosforth, author of *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland*, and many papers in these *Transactions*, to whom also the thanks of the Society were due for his great share in the arrangements and guidance on this occasion. The following new members were then elected:—Mr. T. H. Rymer, Calder Abbey; the Rev. J. Clare Hudson, hon. Canon of Lincoln; Mrs. Metcalfe-Gibson, Ravenstonedale; Mr. J. D. Thompson, Beckermet: Mr. William Greenwood, barrister-at-law, Isleworth, Middlesex; Mr. Alan D. Curwen, Workington Hall; Dr. T. G. Matthews, Whitehaven; Mr. Joseph Birch, Gosforth; Mr. J. R. Atkinson, Beckermet; and Mr. Joseph Satterthwaite, Calderbridge.

In laying on the table his third instalment of "Bishop Nicolson's Diaries" (Art. I.), the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness said a few words in contravention of commonly received notions about social, and especially clerical, life in Cumberland two centuries ago: pointing out that the diaries bear witness to the well-being and general good behaviour of the people in Queen Anne's time, the enjoyment of the comforts of life, and security in travelling, far more than Macaulay and other authors have led their readers to imagine.

Dr. Barnes read his paper on "The Bishop's Licence" (Art. II.), and Mr. Gaythorpe gave an account, with illustrations, of the Runic tympanum lately found at Pennington in Furness (Art. XXIV).

Dr. Parker then showed a series of knitting sticks and celts, a mould for bullets (Art. XIII.), and recent finds of Roman pottery from Ravenglass, on which he said:—"I have the pleasure to exhibit several fragments of pottery found in and since 1899 at the camp at Ravenglass, by Mr. F. Reynolds of that place. They include many bits of rough ware of various sorts, mostly found where the south ditch of the camp debouches on the river Esk. Amongst these are two or three dark pieces marked with a fretty pattern, possibly Upchurch. One fragment appears to have formed the lip of a large mortarium. There are also some two dozen fragments of the red ware commonly called Samian, found in the north ditch on the west of the line. This would adjoin the terrace which Chancellor

Ferguson suggested was reserved for the officers of the garrison. Four—perhaps five—scraps belong to the same bowl, which has been about 4½ins. high by 9 in diameter. It has a slight bead round the lip, and about 1¼in. below that a frieze of festoon and tassel ornament, below which is a delicate twisted cord or cable moulding. The same moulding divides the decorated band below into panels, each vertical dividing line having a little horizontal crosspiece at top and bottom, and a third set obliquely in the centre. The panels contain embossed human figures and hunting scenes alternately, so far as can be made out. The human figure, which occurs three times, is that of a man walking briskly, the legs bare, but with some sort of dress crossing the body from the left shoulder and passing under the right arm, with which he carries some large object slung over the right shoulder. A round object is apparently under the left arm. The hunting scene is very fragmentary. In one panel is the potter's mark, set vertically on a slip, which may be AVSTRI OF or AVSTRI OPVS. This name is not in the list given by Chancellor Ferguson in the *Transactions*, vol. xii., as occurring in Cumberland; but AVSTRI OF is found in Mr. Wright's list as occurring in England. He also gives AVSTRI M. and AVSTVS F. If AVSTRI OF (from the workshop of Auster), it is interesting as affording direct proof of importation, as the implements for stamping both the festoon and tassel ornament and this particular label have been found at potteries discovered at Lezoux in Auvergne. The most noted pottery for the manufacture of this ware was at Aretium in Italy, the modern Arezzo; also at Sarrentum, Asia; Pollentia, Italy; Saguntum, Spain; and Pergamus, Asia Minor. Four fragments belong to a second bowl, 3ins. high and 8½ in diameter. Small bead, festoon, and tassel, cable divisions to which flowers are attached. Figures:—

1.—Nude male resembling one of a series of caryatides.
2.—Draped figure of a man.
3.—A tripod (?).
4.—Female figure seated.

These have been repeated round the vessel. Another fragment shows a man offering something upon an altar, and a woman leaning on a pillar. Another has two birds very neatly executed in the panels formed by a large festoon frieze. Others have parts of spirited hunting scenes or intricate floral designs."

Mr. W. H. Watson exhibited a celt, a quern, and photographs of the famous Gibb Tarn finds, and read a paper on pre-historic implements in the neighbourhood (Art. VI.), and the Editor showed photographs of a curious sculptured stone at Tullie House (Art. XXV.).

At this point, the programme still being long and the hour late, the Editor laid on the table abstracts of papers by Mr. F. Grainger (Art. XI.) and Mr. H. Penfold (Art. VII.), and after some discussion proposed, in order to avoid the recurrent congestion of business at these after-dinner sittings, that "the Society direct the Council to arrange a meeting for the reading of papers." The Chairman of Council seconded, and the resolution, on being put by the President, was carried *nem. con.*

Mr. J. F. Curwen then read "Some Notes on the Hermitage at Conishead Priory" (Art. IV.), and the Rev. J. Whiteside summarised his papers on "Paines made at Shap" (Art. IX.) and on "Chancellor Burn and the Quakers" (Art. X.), with which the day's proceedings concluded.

Next morning the rain of overnight had increased to a downpour, making an early start impossible. Carriages were ordered for eleven o'clock on faith in the saying "Rain before seven, fine at eleven," and the interval was spent in a description by the Editor of the Gosforth Cross, aided by a series of fine photographs of Gosforth and the neighbourhood by Miss A. E. Brickhill of Manchester. Mr. J. F. Curwen then read the paper by Mr. H. Penfold on "Early Brampton Presbyterians," which had been omitted at the evening meeting for want of time. In discussion, the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness said that the character of Bishop Nicolson, who had been mentioned in the paper, was not generally understood. He was an overbearing man in many ways, but not harsh in matters of religion; the laws against dissenters were made by the nation in the House of Commons and directed against Jacobitism and other disturbing influences, which were a real danger at the time; in warning his clergy against all such influences he was only doing his duty, and not acting as a persecutor of men whose worth he recognised.

At eleven o'clock the rain ceased, and a start was made for Gosforth. The old Hall was first visited, and described by Mr. J. F. Curwen and Dr. Parker (Art. XIV.).

After the meeting, the Rev. Rees Keene wrote:—"I noticed to-day that many people at Gosforth Hall wanted to know what the 'oak thing' in the kitchen was. The thing was always a puzzle to me until (last May) I went to Conway and visited Plas Mawr, now the Royal Cambrian Academy of Art. In the 'small kitchen' there two stout black oak beams cross the ceiling, from which is suspended an old-fashioned *bread safe*. In some old, out-of-the-way farmhouses these old safes are still in use. Such things, of much more modern make, of course are common for bacon, especially perhaps in Monmouthshire."

At the church, after a few introductory words by the rector (the

Rev. Rees Keene), the Editor spoke upon the ancient hogbacks (Calverley's *Early Sculptured Crosses*, pp. 172-177). Mr. John Watson, clerk to the church and builder at the restoration, has kindly communicated the following account of the discovery of these famous pre-Norman monuments: — "The restoration of Gosforth Church was begun in June, 1896, the pulling down of the north wall of the nave being anything but an easy task. At first it was arranged that the chancel, chancel arch, and south wall of the nave should remain as they were—hence blasting operations were considered out of the question. Large sledge hammers, picks, and wedges were brought into use with very little effect, one man remarking that he 'cudn't mak' saut till his poddish wid this way o' deuhan.' Being somewhat impressed with the man's remarks—and the further question, 'Would it pay to proceed thus?'—I consented to try blasting, which soon proved far more effective than picks, wedges, &c. The first shot turned over a solid piece 15ft. square, weighing over 40 tons. It was under this wall, at the north-west corner of the nave, that we found the first hogback—that is, the one on the south with the battle scene on its south side. At its first appearance little notice was taken of it, and being in two pieces it was thought to be of no value, except as a foundation stone. However, we put it on one side, and at Dr. Parker's next visit I drew his attention to it. He quickly reckoned it up, and said—'Why, John, this is a hogback; a very rare stone, and very valuable in an archæological sense.' I can hardly describe how delighted he was to find it was one of these rare stones—a 'hogback,' as he called it. At first I thought he was talking Latin; but after cleaning and close examination the battle scene became visible, and other outlines of its design, purpose, and plan. I thought I had become an archæologist all at once. Dr. Parker requested me to keep a sharp look-out for any stones of an interesting character, and not many days passed ere we were pleased to find the ornamental grave-slabs now fixed in the south porch. The large one was used as a lintel over the doorway at the west end of the nave, one side of the stone having been cut away to make it fit the wall. The slab next to it, with the sword and cross, was over the door leading into the west gallery; and the third plain slab under the nave floor. As the work proceeded several pieces of tracery, arch stones, fragments of Early English windows and small grave-slabs, a piscina, &c., were found and put aside. The rebuilding had now so far advanced that it was time to settle where the hogback was to be placed. The committee consulted their architect Mr. Ferguson, and it was decided to place it where it now stands, but set north and south, not east and west. All the stones for the pedestal being ready, the work of preparation

for fixing them was started on the morning of August 13th, 1897. The piece of old transept wall, built in 1858, at the east end of the new north aisle being only very moderate, I ordered it to be taken down so as to make a more substantial job. I was passing the spot when the men were clearing away the rubbish, and noticed a stone, with sloping faces, projecting from underneath the north-east corner of the ancient nave, which corner had become since the alterations a pillar, from which four arches sprang. This, I saw, was the cause of the transept wall being bad—a sloping foundation. I asked my man in charge to brush the rubbish off the stone so that I might examine it, and was not a little surprised to find it was another hogback. Turning to my man, I said—

'This is another hogback!'

'What'll ye du wid it?' said he.

'Oh! it'll hev to cum oot.'

'Ah wadn't tooch it,' was his reply; 'knock t' end off an' hap it up, an' niver say a ward aboot it.'

'Ah cannut du that, hooiver,' I replied.

'It'll let t' buildin' doon to tak' it oot,' said another.

'Ah wadn't hev any responsibility, onyhow,' chimed in a third.

I now despatched a messenger to Parknook, and in the meantime I had all cleared away which was not supporting other work. In a short time Dr. Parker arrived looking incredulous, but as soon as he saw it he changed his tune, and pronounced it a fine specimen.

'Can you get it out?' said he.

'Yes,'

'Well, it has got to come out.'

Naturally there was a good deal of risk, but with careful working and good shoring I was certain it could be done. The work of shoring and propping the chancel arch and arch of the north aisle was started, but you may imagine the uphill work when the men fancied every moment they were about to bring the building down upon their heads. A large pit was sunk at the end of the hogback to about two feet below its lowest part; then undermining was begun, and blocks and ropes were fixed to the end of the stone. By this time the news had spread through the village, and several of the Building Committee turned up and lent a helping hand, some having been summoned by telegram. At this stage some of the workmen became quite nervous, so I at once relieved them by stepping into the pit; and, after a bit more excavation, I was able to secure the end with a chain, and with a 'heigh, ho!' and a pull out came, to everybody's disappointment, only half of the stone. Nothing daunted more excavating was done, which set free the other half. By 7-30 on the same day the hole was filled up with

concrete and large stones, and all made secure without the least thread or trace of a shrinkage. I feel I must offer an apology; it appears as if I was short of a trumpeter, and had to proclaim myself. Had it not been for our rector Mr. Keene, I should never have thought of committing to paper the particulars of the finding of these remarkable stones. Gosforth folk prize them highly, and think that with the standing cross in the churchyard, and the cross fragments, grave-slabs, and other relics of the past both outside and inside the building, they may well feel proud of their parish church."

Dr. Parker then described the Chinese bell (see these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., p. 99), the plate, alms-dishes and alms-pillar, old oak, Denton monument, &c. The old chalice is of three different dates, the hexagonal foot bearing INRI, a crucifixion, and the figures 1690; the plain bell bowl the arms of Charles Lutwidge of Holmrook (then patron), and the date 1784; the stem with flange, knop, and cherubs being from 1615-45. The *Cumberland Pacquet* for 1783 has the following advertisement:—"Wheras the Church of Gosforth was broken open some time between Monday the 7th and Sunday the 13th of this month, and a silver cup of a very ancient fashion, and of a pint measure or thereabouts, and also a tablecloth, a note of hand for £40, payable to the Rector and Churchwardens, and several other parochial papers were taken therefrom. Any person who can discover the offender . . . . . shall upon conviction receive five pounds reward." Either part of the stolen cup was recovered, or Mr. Lutwidge had a bowl made and mounted on an older stem and foot. The cup "of a very ancient fashion" may have been the "chales of silvr" mentioned in the inventory of Edward VI. The pewter basin is dated 1675. The oak panel—on which is carved a shield bearing "I A S, 1640," and a rose, the Senhouse badge—is said to have been part of the Senhouse Hall pew, and refers to John and Anna Senhouse, then of the manor of Seascale.

Mr. John Watson, clerk, exhibited an old pitch-pipe, and the rector showed some old Bibles and the Book of Homilies dated 1633.

With regard to the grave-slab bearing the inscription "HIC JA(cet J)OH(ann)ES FIDUS R(ector hujus ecclesiæ?)," figured by Dr. Parker in these *Transactions* (N.S., ii., p. 94), the Rev. Rees Keene adds:—"The faithful rector—may he always have worthy and similar successors!—seems from the charters of the Duchy of Lancaster to have been patron of the living of Drigg 1233-1246, or thereabouts. Dr. Parker tells me he has noted a 'John, rector of Goseford, 1261-1271,' and that this is found in the St. Bees chartulary. I think mine is the true and rightful owner of the memorial stone."

Owing to the late start it was impossible to visit the Holy Well, chapel, and Danish camp. The former is described in these *Transactions*, N.S., pp. 77-83.) Carriages were taken about one o'clock for Irton Hall, where Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Brocklebank most hospitably entertained the party. The ancient parts of the Hall were described by Dr. Parker, but this subject and that of the Danish camp must be postponed to a subsequent volume of these *Transactions*.

In view of the Society's visit, trenches had been cut in an ancient earthwork in the park. The site was inspected with great interest, but the short time available was not enough for any decided opinion to be formed as to the age and purpose of the embankment, and a full description must be deferred.

On leaving Irton Hall a hearty vote of thanks was given, on the motion of the President, to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Brocklebank; and as the time was running short, it was decided by those in command to omit the visit to Irton Church and Cross. Many of the party accordingly left the carriages, including the President and most of the local members. The remainder, however, stopped for a few minutes at the church, only to find it closed. Seascale was reached as rain began to come on again, and the company dispersed after a meeting which, in spite of unsettled weather, was one of the best attended and most interesting of recent years.

Second Meeting: Penrith and Keswick.

The second meeting of the season was held on Thursday and Friday, August 28th and 29th, 1902, the committee for local arrangements being Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., Dr. Haswell, Mr. George Watson, and the Secretaries. Among those present during the whole or part of the time were the Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness, president, and Mrs. Ware; the Right Hon. J. W. Lowther, M.P., and Mr. Christopher Lowther, Hutton John; Sir Edmund T. Bewley, Dublin; Colonel and Mrs. Sewell, Brandlingill; Mr. R. D. Marshall and party, Keswick; the Rev. J. Wilson, Dalston; Mr. J. E. Morris, Bedford; Canon Rawnsley; Canon Hudson, Horncastle; Mr. and Mrs. F. M. H. Parker, Fremington; Miss Marston, Windermere; Mr. J. R. Ford, Leeds; Mr. S. J. Chadwick, F.S.A., Dewsbury (secretary of the Yorkshire Archæological Society); Mr. and Mrs. Swainson, Kendal; Mr. J. Robinson, Kendal; Rev. W. R. and Mrs. Hopper, Kirkbride; Mrs. Wood, Cockermouth; Mr. W. O. Roper, Yealand Conyers; Miss Armitt, Ambleside; the Rev. W. H. Bartholomew, Ambleside; Miss Gough, Wigton; the Rev. A. F. Still Hill, Dufton; Mr. E. Jackson, Cockermouth; Mr. W. L.

Fletcher, Workington; the Misses Ullock, Windermere; Mrs. Highett, Workington; Mr., Mrs., and Miss Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. and Miss Fothergill, Brownber; Mr. and Mrs. A. Fothergill, Kendal; the Rev. T. Ellwood, Torver; the Rev. Canon Lowther Clarke, Huddersfield (since Bishop of Melbourne); the Rev. R. W. Metcalfe and Mr. J. Carver, Ravenstonedale; Miss Noble and party (4), Beckfoot; Mr. T. Lester and party (3), Penrith; Mr. and Mrs. Collingwood, Miss Holt, Coniston; Miss C. Richardson, Grasmere; Mr. T. Wilson and the Misses Wilson, Kendal; Mr. T. S. Ritson, Maryport; Mr. J. F. Curwen, Kendal; Mr. W. D. Burnyeat, Whitehaven; Mr. A. B. Clark, Aspatria; Mr. G. Watson, Dr. and Mrs. Haswell, Canon and Mrs. Monnington, Penrith; Mr. J. B. and Mr. H. Penfold, Brampton; Mr. W. I. R. Crowder, Mr. F. C. Robinson, Miss Beevor, Carlisle; Canon Thornley, Kirkoswald; Mr. A. C. Whitehead and the Rev. A. Coles, Appleby; Miss Yeates, Penrith; Mr. R. E. Leach, Yealand Conyers; the Rev. J. Whiteside, Helsington; Mrs. Gillbanks, Clifton; the Rev. A. J. and Miss Heelis, Brougham Rectory; and others.

Thursday morning was bright and fine, and on the arrival of the last contingents by the train from the south reaching Penrith shortly after eleven, the party mustered in the ruined castle, where Dr. Haswell read a paper as follows :—

PENRITH CASTLE.

The royal manor of Penrith was granted to Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmorland, towards the end of the fourteenth century, and it is probable that this castle was commenced by him; at any rate, in 1399 Bishop Strickland obtained a licence to crenellate a tower at Penrith, which is generally supposed to have been what was called the 'bishop's tower' in the castle. It was certainly in existence in 1460, when, after the battle of Wakefield Richard Neville was captured and beheaded, the 'castle and manor' were granted by Henry VI. to John Clifford. But in those troublous times people in high positions seldom held anything long—not even their own heads—and the battle of Towton intervening and Clifford being killed, Edward IV. granted the manor to the Earl of Warwick. Ten years saw his power broken and the castle and manor handed over to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who resided here and dated deeds, which are still extant, from his castle of Penrith. Most of you will remember the glass in the parish church which contains the portraits of his parents—Richard, Duke of York, and Cicely Neville, the rose of Raby. He is said to have made considerable addition to the castle, consisting of a tower, a porter's lodge, and some other buildings. After his defeat at Bosworth Field the manor

does not appear to have been granted out, and in 1572 a commission was issued by Queen Elizabeth. Walker, in his *History of Penrith*, says:—'On the 25th June, 1572, a commission was issued by Queen Elizabeth appointing Henry, Lord Scrope, warden of the West Marches; Edward Braddall, receiver of the Queen's possessions in the county of Cumberland; and others, to survey the manor of *Pearith* with the castle and members of the same, the forest of Inglewood,' &c., &c. The report of the survey, as far as applies to Penrith, is interesting. In connexion with the castle there were two towers, one called the red tower and the other the white, or bishop's tower. This latter tower is supposed to have been built by Bishop Strickland. There was a bakehouse or brewhouse, and one great chamber adjoining the last-mentioned tower in good repair, except some faults in the leads, which might be amended with a very little cost. In this tower there was a 'view or shewe' of a castle, or place of refuge for all the tenants of the lordship to go into for defence of their goods and chattels if need required, 'and as they had been accustomed on the invasion of the enemy of Scotland.' Certain stones had fallen down, but with a small cost a good wall might be made from the bakehouse to the corner of the wall next the white tower, 'which would put the whole in a guardable state, sufficient for the protection of the tenants.' The outermost gate-house of the castle was in utter ruin. The timber on three stables within the castle was rotted, and ready to fall down. The chapel, the great hall, the kitchens, and all other offices were in utter ruin and decay, and not repairable. The gates of the castle were in ruin. The windows of the prison, and other iron staunches of windows, bands of doors, &c., were worth £1 10s. for old iron. Richard Dudley, late steward of Penrith, had taken from the castle, by warrant of Anthony Barwise, 30 cartloads of stones, to build a prison in Penrith. Thomas Carleton, of Penrith, had six loads; Cuthbert, bailiff of Penrith, three score of hewn stones; and several other persons had removed different quantities in the first year of King Edward VI. Therefore, one hundred years of neglect had done its work. I do not know if it was repaired after the commission, but it is probable it was in some sort, and remained a residence for sundry people until the time of the civil wars of Charles, when General Lambert demolished it and sold the lead and timber for the uses of the Commonwealth, since when it has been gradually falling into decay. The general plan, you will see, is four square, enclosing a central court, with a moat about 15ft. from the outside walls. This must have been dry, as there seems to have been no means of filling it with water. The gateway from the town was clearly in the north wall, where the approach can still

be seen; also, there seems to have been another gateway in the south wall. Of the two towers mentioned one is at the north-west corner, and I think the other, the bishop's tower, was most probably at the north-east corner. The hall would be between these two, and parts of the windows still remain, the tracing having fallen out within living memory. The position of the chapel, bakehouse, &c., has been quite lost.

After passing round the castle the party walked to the Two Lions Hotel—formerly Gerard Lowther's house—which Mr. George Watson described (see these *Transactions*, N.S., i.. art. v.); and then went on to St. Andrew's Church, where the Editor gave an account of the Giant's Grave and Giant's Thumb (see Art. XXV. and Calverley's *Early Sculptured Crosses*, pp. 240-252). After seeing the interior of the church and the churchyard, in which was exhibited an ancient stoup recently found by the clerk, Mr. Dan. Chester, luncheon was taken at the George Hotel.

About two o'clock the six carriages started conveying the party to Brougham Castle, where the Rev. A. J. Heelis gave some account of the ruins, which deserve a fuller investigation and description than they have hitherto received in our *Transactions*. It is much to be hoped that the intentions expressed at our visit may be carried out at no distant date. Meanwhile we reproduce (Art. XIX.) the capital photograph taken on this occasion by Mr. J. E. Morris.

After a short halt at the Countess's Pillar, carriages were left at Whinfell for the walk across the fields to Ninekirks, where the Rev. A. J. Heelis read a paper on the church and the pillar (Art. XXII.); and the walk was then continued to Hornby Hall, which was invaded and examined upstairs and down by kind permission of Mr. Todd. Dr. Haswell, whose paper on the heraldry of the carvings in the porch has been printed in these *Transactions* (xiv., Art. vii.), read the following account of the

BIRKBECK FAMILY.

The estate of Hornby was granted in 1553 by Henry, Earl of Cumberland, to Edward Birkbeck in exchange for some land near Appleby. This is the first reference to the place or family that I know in local history. It continued in the Birkbeck line until about 1695, when Caterick Birkbeck sold the estate to Thomas Dalston of Penrith, a barrister belonging to the Acornbank family; and in 1828 it passed by purchase to its present owner, the Earl of Lonsdale. The house is fully described in Dr. Taylor's book. Very little is known of the Birkbeck family—a privately-printed pedigree begins with "Thomas Birkbeck, Esq., Governor of Carlisle, arms granted

1515," but no Governor of Carlisle of that name is given in Nicolson and Burn. His son was the Edward Birkbeck mentioned above, who probably built and beautified the house. The arms as given by Dugdals are Arg. a fess chequey Or and Sable between 3 lion's heads, erased Gules—from the glass at Hornby and the oak shields the fess is componé, and the animals, certainly not lions, probably boars or bears. The pedigree, as far as concerns Hornby, is given below.

THOMAS BIRKBECK, ESQ. = ———
Governor of Carlisle,
Arms granted 1515.

EDWARD BIRKBECK of Hornby, ob. 1609. = JOAN, dau. and co-heir of Ambrose Lancaster, of Brampton, co. Cumb. — 6 sons, 3 daughters.

EDWARD ob. 1634 = BRIDGET, dau. of John Calvert of Cockerham, co. Lanc., ob. 1657, Jan. 7, at Brougham. — 2 sons, 4 daughters.

HENRY Ob. 1691 = ELLEN, dau. of Geo. Poole, of Wakebridge, co. Derby, buried at Brougham, 8 Feb., 1691.

RICHARD, buried at Brougham, 2 Ap., 1696.

EDWARD, buried at Brougham, 31 Dec., 1688.

2 sons, 2 daughters.

THOMAS ob. 1676 = MARGARET, daughter of John Caterick of North Carlton, co. Ebor. Buried at Brougham, 15 August, 1685.

GERVASE.

CATERICK BIRKBECK, born at Stanwick, co. Ebor., 17 Ap., 1668. Sold Hornby Hall to Thomas Dalston, circa. 1695.

3 sons, 1 daughter.

The carriages had been brought round from Whinfell, and the next halt was at Brougham School for tea, after which they drove by way of Fremington, Clifton Dykes, and Wetheriggs to Clifton Moor. At the top of the hill the Rev. A. J. Heelis pointed out the scene of the last battle on English soil—the skirmish in 1745 (see these *Transactions*, x., art. x.). In the reading room Mrs. Gillbanks had kindly arranged her collection—formed by her father, the late Mr. James Mawson—of various antiquities, which were examined with great interest. These included:—*British*—Flint arrow heads, leaf shaped and barbed; flint scrapers, spindle whorls, rubbers, a small urn or food vessel and four celts, all from Skirwith Moor; an urn from Newton, and a large round flattish stone with a large

perforation, described as a quoit, from Threlkeld Pasture; also eleven celts, eight stone hammers, &c. *Roman*—Fibulæ, bone discs, bone pins, needles and ornaments; bronze pins and needles, rings, beads, keys, châtelaine, and specimens of Samian and glass, &c., all from Kirkby Thore; also a bronze pan from Drumburgh; a large quern from Easton; an altar, head, beads, &c., from Kirkbride; a small urn, two lamps, a hand, the top of an amphora, sandals, and gold rings from Carlisle; a large bronze fibula from Penrith; and seven bronze spearheads. *Miscellaneous*—Sword and cannon ball from Clifton Moor; two greybeards from Carlisle; two pewter "cock-fighting cups" from Morland and Greystoke; taper stands and rush-holders, &c. A vote of thanks was proposed by the President to Mrs. Gillbanks for her kindness in exhibiting this valuable collection, and carried by acclamation. The afternoon was not long enough for visits to the many other sites of interest in the neighbourhood, and the George Hotel was reached soon after seven.

Nearly seventy members and friends sat down to dinner, the President in the chair; and the evening meeting was unusually well attended. At a Council Meeting held after dinner the chief business of general interest was an application by Dr. Haswell for a small grant and the support of the Society in aid of proposed explorations in Penrith Castle, to which the Council agreed with much satisfaction.

The first business of the General Meeting was the election of new members, as follows:—Mrs. Simpson, The Wray, Grasmere; Rev. W. H. Bartholomew, The Hollins, Ambleside; Mr. Thomas Browne, Jun., 1 Lowther Street, Whitehaven; Mr. C. J. Myers, Dunning Well, Millom; Public Library, Whitehaven; Miss A. D. Muncaster, Whitehaven; Miss K. Marston, College Road, Windermere; Mr. W. J. Dalzell Burnyeat, Whitehaven; Mr. William Long, Cleabarrow, Windermere; Mr. and Mrs. James Morton, Grey Fell, Penrith; Mr. Richard Rigg, M.P., Windermere; Canon and Mrs. Monnington, Penrith.

Sir Edmund T. Bewley read papers by the Rev. James Wilson and himself on "Bewley Castle" (Art. XV.). The Editor, on behalf of Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., exhibited Mr. Brunskill's Roman fibulæ, &c., from Brough (Art. III.). Mr. J. E. Morris read his paper on "Cumberland and Westmorland Levies in the time of Edward I. and Edward II." (Art. XIX.). Notes on "Towtop Kirk" (Art. XVI.) by Miss Noble was read by the Editor, who also laid on the table Mr. Greenwood's paper on "The Redmans of Levens" (Art. XVIII.). Canon Thornley showed and described photographs of the ancient incised markings on Long Meg; this article, as well as

the Rev. J. Whiteside's "Orton Church," and the Editor's report on Lord's Island (of which Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson's plans were shown) will be printed in a future number of these *Transactions*. Dr. Haswell read his "Notes on the Friary at Penrith" (Art. XXI.), and papers by the Rev. J. Brunskill and Mr. George Watson were laid on the table (Arts. XXII. and XXIII.). Canon Bower sent for exhibition the photographs here reproduced—one representing a Roman head, found by Mr. Glaister, Castle Street, Carlisle, and presented to Tullie House. It is of cream-coloured pottery, and seems to have been one handle of a vase or pitcher. The other is a leaden plate found in pulling down a building in Castle Street, Carlisle; it had been painted, but was cleaned by the finder, and it is now in Tullie House, presented by Mr. Glaister. It is identified by Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A., as the badge of the Newcastle Fire Office, dating from the end of the eighteenth century. Mr. Lester, of Penrith, also exhibited a bronze arrow head and a bronze celt, both found in digging in Fell Lane, Penrith.

Thursday had been fine and warm, notwithstanding heavy clouds on the horizon. Friday opened dull, and on arriving at Threlkeld by the 9-30 train from Penrith the clouds were still low on Saddleback and the Wanthwaite Fells, but there was no rain. Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., led the party up to the hut-circles, which he described as in the article by Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., and himself in these *Transactions* (N.S., ii., art. iii.). The Rev. J. O. Crosse, rector of Threlkeld, added an interesting bit of information—that about two years earlier one of the quarrymen named Scaife, who had been accustomed to digging in the churchyard, had dug through a tumulus a little to the east of the hut-circles and had found grave-earth in it.

Carriages were taken at Threlkeld Station shortly after eleven, and during the drive past the great Keswick circle to Stable Hills the clouds entirely cleared away, leaving the most perfect summer weather. Mr. R. D. Marshall kindly had boats in readiness, and the party was soon ferried over to Lord's Island, where the Editor gave an account of the Radcliffe family and their house as recently unearthed. There is no need here to anticipate the paper which will appear in the next volume of these *Transactions*, but two incidents of the afternoon may be noted—one, the production of the fourteenth century silver pennies found long since near the Lady's Rake, perhaps the origin of the legend of treasure lost there by the Lady Derwentwater, who was said to have escaped up Walla Crag from the island. The coins were lent on this occasion by Mr. Edwin Jackson of Cockermouth, and shown later in the afternoon at the Museum. The other incident was the finding by the Rev. A. F.

ROMAN HEAD FROM CASTLE STREET, CARLISLE.

Photo. by Mr. F. W. Tassell. TO FACE P. 408.

LEADEN BADGE OF THE NEWCASTLE FIRE-OFFICE

(18th Century) found in Castle Street, Carlisle.

Photo. by Mr. F. W. Tassell. TO FACE P. 409.

Still Hill of the "push" of an ancient wine bottle, iridescent with age, on the spot where the party were standing. This relic was afterwards given by Mr. Still Hill to the Keswick Museum. The President proposed, and the Chairman of Council seconded, that a vote of thanks be given to Mr. R. D. Marshall for his permission to excavate the site and for his generosity in defraying the cost of the labour, and that at the next election of officers Mr. Marshall be nominated a vice-president of the Society, which was carried with acclamation.

Luncheon was taken at the Keswick Hotel. At three o'clock, in the Keswick Museum, Canon Rawnsley exhibited and described the recently found Portinscale stone celts and crucifix-mould (see Art. XIII. and Canon Rawnsley's lately published work, *A Rambler's Notebook at the English Lakes*, pp. 240-251). The Editor showed relics of Lord's Island, the Walla Crag coins, and a stone celt found by Olive and Richard B. Graham, children of Mr. J. W. Graham, M.A., principal of Dalton Hall, Manchester, in the summer of 1902. It was lying at the foot of a large boulder in the beck which runs on the north-west side of Meadowbrow, Grasmere. The celt is of greenstone, a trifle less than 4ins. long, 2ins. broad at the broadest part, and 1in. thick, partly polished.

A vote of thanks was proposed by the President to Canon Rawnsley for his most interesting exhibit and address, which concluded the proceedings of a very enjoyable, instructive, and well-attended meeting.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA.

The Urswick Bronze Celts.

Mr. Harper Gaythorpe, F.S.A., Scot., reports:—

In June, 1902, six bronze celts were found by a workman named James Newby while quarrying limestone in a field called Little Cow Close on Skelmore Heads, near Urswick, Furness. The celts were lying together in a fissure, about three inches wide, between two large blocks of limestone; the root of an ash tree growing in the fissure bears an impression of one of the celts. The largest is 5 ins. long, and weighs 14 ozs.; the smallest is 4 ins. long, and weighs 10½ ozs. Two are quite plain; the other four are ornamented with ribs and pellets, one having a ring ornament not unlike Fig. 166 in *Ancient Bronze Implements*. All have the sockets wider at the bottom than in the middle, showing that a foxtail wedge was used to fix the handle. One of the ornamented specimens is not quite perfect; one of the others has been cracked across one face and has a hole near the loop, evidently a defect in casting; another (at the top left-hand corner of plate opposite) has never been used since it came from the mould, the edge being one quarter of an inch thick.

The site of the find is in view of the pre-historic "camps" at Foula, Appleby Slack, and Urswick Stone Walls. Bronze Age implements have also been discovered in Furness at Gleaston Castle (1776), Wraysholme Tower (1831), Longrigg Field, near the Stone Walls (1847), and Dalton (1874), and are described in these *Transactions*, vols. xiv., xv., and xvi.

Five of the new find, in the possession of Mr. Robert Grisdale, Haverthwaite, have been photographed by Mr. Robert Dobson of Urswick; and the sixth is in the possession of Mr. Thompson, General Burgoyne Inn, Urswick.

Bronze Spear-head from Piel Castle.

Mr. Gaythorpe also gives particulars of a leaf-shaped bronze spear-head found at Piel Castle in 1871 by Mr. Thomas Clayton of Barrow. The spear-head was originally embedded in that portion of the inner boundary wall of the Castle which now lies on the shore at the south-west corner of the Keep near Bass Pool. The spear-head is 7¼ inches long. It was originally about 8 inches long, but a portion of the socket, visible outside the wall when found, was broken off when being extracted. It is 1¼ inches wide, the socketed end being $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches in diameter. Close to and parallel to the edges of the spear-head is a hollow fluting. In form it is similar to that figured on Plate II., vol. xv. of these *Transactions*, p. 164-5. It was probably built into the wall when the Castle was founded about 1324. It is now in the possession of the Barrow Naturalists' Field Club.

SOCKETED BRONZE CELTS

FOUND AT MUCH URSWICK, JUNE 13th, 1902.

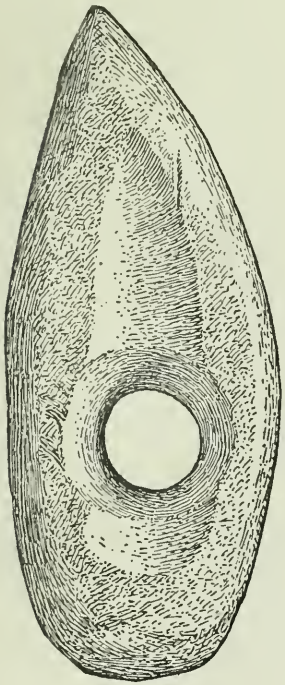
Photo. by Mr. R. Dobson.

TO FACE P. 410.

Stone Implements.

[The following notes are given here to place on record some antiquities which are in private hands and undescribed, without prejudice to fuller accounts in future Papers.]

Mr. J. A. Barnes, of Earnseat School, Arnside, informs us of a fine stone celt, ploughed up in a field between Overthwaite, near Milnthorpe, and Holme some fifteen years ago, and now at the house of Mr. William Atkinson, Overthwaite. It is of blue-stone, polished; 10⅛ ins. long, 3¼ broad and 1¾ thick, of the ordinary Lake-district type, tapering or tooth-shaped, much like those found recently at Portinscale. Also of a flint arrow-head found in the Bridge Inn field (the Bridge Inn does not now exist) just to west of Gilpin Bridge, about 1877, now in the possession of Mrs. Powley, Greengate Farm, Levens. It is 1¼ ins. long, with tang and barbs. Also of a hone found in the Stakes Moss, High Foulshaw, 5 ft. deep in peat, by John Mason; this is of hone-stone, 6¼ ins. long, ⅝ broad and $\frac{7}{16}$ thick, with a perforation near one end.



Mr. William Little of Chapel Ridding, Windermere, has in his possession a fine perforated stone axe, found at the north-west corner of the terrace walk in front of his house in 1875, while laying out the grounds. It is 9¼ ins. in length, 3¾ in breadth, and 3¼ in thickness; and seems to be of greenstone, but is uniformly weathered grey. It has been made of a pebble by careful chipping, and though not polished is finely worked with the surface evenly pitted all over. It is remarkable for its similarity in shape to a modern American axe, and for the longitudinal grooves, one on each side, at right angles to the perforation.

There are also two smaller stone celts in the possession of Mr. E. Warriner at Latrigg, found at Ibbotsholme, near Windermere, in or about 1899.

Roman Discoveries at Carlisle.

The Rev. Canon Bower, under date December 8th, 1902, supplies the following notes:—

Excavations on a large scale have recently been made in English Street, Carlisle. Two large blocks of buildings have been demolished to make way for new structures. The old Crown and Mitre or Coffee House Hotel, with other tenements extending backwards to St. Cuthbert's Churchyard, has been removed. Foundations for a new hotel and assembly room have been laid at a depth of ten feet on the street front to twenty feet at the back, where the ground rises. About six feet from the surface a cobble pavement extended over all the back part of the site.

A stockade of nine posts in a square was discovered about five feet deep, and several large oak beams, about ten or twelve inches square, also were found driven into the ground perpendicularly. Two wells are on the site. The one at the back, 56ft. deep with 40ft. of water in it, is clearly fairly modern; the other, however, was sealed down with flags at a depth of five feet from the surface. It is stone lined, built without mortar; for five feet at the top it is circular, and from thence square to the bottom, which is neither flagged or paved. About four feet from the street level were found four posts, boarded all round and puddled outside with clay—the whole being about four feet square. The articles found were as follows:—A stone chemist's mortar, with single lip and two knobs on opposite sides for resting in sockets; a fragment of beautiful black pottery, with a very artistic ornament (a strong face with wings); some skulls, several red deer horns, some yellow pottery, and much Samian ware—evidently fragments of a large and beautiful bowl or vase. A ribbon pattern is found on most of the pieces, and a representation of a hunting scene—horsemen, dogs, stags, and leopards being depicted in abundance. The oak blade of a paddle, 18 ins. long and 6½ wide, has come to light again; and a knife, with handle 4 ins. long of brass, tortoiseshell, and bone; blade, 3 ins. long, tapering to a point. The maker's mark is a tuning fork, and name B E A U V O I S (?).

Messrs Oliver & Dodshun are the architects for Mr. Walter Scott of Newcastle, and their clerk of the works, Mr. Harriman, has been most careful to note all discoveries and courteous in supplying information.

Writing later, Canon Bower adds:—"I send you the marks on the Samian ware. None seem to be in Chancellor Ferguson's paper (these *Transactions*, xi., p. 102).

*CERIAL.M(anu)
TVLLI M
*NALLIACI (the N and A joined)

The above are enclosed in oblong *cartouches*, with a ring superimposed. The following have no ring:—

*PATERCLINI
ISAD VS
ECVDARIS.
.PAIT
DAR...CIVS F(ecit)
I...CIVSF
...NILIM

The top of a large black vase turned up on December 9th, with two handles. Captain Ferguson also took a quantity of pottery to Tullie House, which he got from the workmen; these fragments are very similar to those described above."

Mr. H. E. Ayris, from the office of Messrs. Oliver & Dodgshun, has forwarded the following notes on the excavations upon building site at the corner of English Street and St. Cuthbert's Lane, Carlisle:—

The excavations were made principally during October, 1902. A large part of the site had already been excavated to the virgin ground. New excavations about 12ft. deep over the area of the site. Parts of the digging showed a clearly defined section like this:—

STREET LEVEL.

MADE GROUND.
SAY 5FT.

FIRE DÉBRIS.
SAY 1FT. 3IN.

MADE GROUND.
SAY 2 TO 3FT.

VIRGIN SOIL.

* These, Mr. Robert Blair tells me, are often seen.

The top layer of made ground was foul, and contained fragments of pottery, bones, &c. The pottery comprised fragments of Samian ware and unglazed Roman pottery. So far as I have been able to learn, none of the pottery bore any maker's marks. A veterinary surgeon said that the bones were those of oxen. A copper vessel was found in this débris, much corroded, and apparently never having had either a top or a bottom. It is symmetrical, 3½ins. by 2ins. each across the top and bottom—these parts being square, the intermediate parts being circular.

Underlying this first layer of débris was a clearly defined stratum of what looked to me like fire ash. This contained no remains. Underlying this again was clean made ground, which (so far as I could learn) contained no remains. Under this again a thin bed of clean gravel was found lying upon soft clayey and stoney ground, which became much harder as the depth increased.

In the course of the digging near St. Cuthbert's Lane, a stone channel was found running across the site in an easterly and westerly line. The stone was white, of a porous nature, but no one has been able to tell me whence it comes; it is very much lighter in weight than any known white stone of this neighbourhood. A similar channel was found during the Crown and Mitre excavations—also running in an easterly and westerly direction; but the two channels were not lineable. I did not notice in either of them which way the water ran.

Under the wall between us and the "Shakespeare" two coffins were found, but the dangerous state of the wall over prevented any examination being made.

Three wells have been found; one, presumed to be ancient, 22ft. back from the English Street front, and partly under the St. Cuthbert's Lane wall. This has not been excavated below our digging line, but it is intended that this should be done when the progress of the other works will allow it. The depth is unknown, but it is known to be four feet deeper. Up to now, the only find in it has been a knife or dagger. The second well, lined with brick and filled in with rubbish consisting largely of broken clay pipes, was said to have been the well belonging to a public-house which occupied part of the site within the memory of some of the workmen. The third, lined with roughly-squared stones, has also been excavated, but nothing was found. It was said to have belonged to the mill which (until recently) occupied the "Shakespeare" end of the site.

Roman Coins.

Mr. Robert Blair, F.S.A., of South Shields, writes from Chesters on December 7th, 1902, enclosing a copy of the following letter :—

Newbiggin Hall : Wed.

My dear Mr. Clayton,

I am quite sorry not to have been able to send you yesterday the list of coins which my drainers accidentally met with in a field near Kirkbythore about a week ago. I had sent them to my neighbour Sir G. Musgrave, who has been a great collector, and had them not in my possession, when my sister put into my hands the letter from Miss Clayton requesting me to furnish you with some description of them. They are all denarii in very good preservation, 157 in number, of which

2 are of Nero,
1 Galba,
1 Otho,
2 Vitellius,
11 Vespasian,
4 Titus,
4 Domitian,
1 Nerva,
27 Trajan,
35 Hadrian,
6 Sabina,
29 Antoninus Pius,
3 Antoninus & M. Aurelius,
13 Faustina Senr.,
13 M. Aurelius,
5 Faustina Jun.,
6 Lucius Verus,
3 Lucilla,
1 Crispina.

They are all in excellent preservation, and only stained by the earth (peat) in which they were found. I believe none of them are valuable from their scarcity, but of course are interesting to those who know the locality of the deposit, which was in close proximity, if not almost upon the Maiden Way. I shall be most happy to show them to you at Newbiggin, if you will favour me with a visit when you next come into the county.

I am,

Yours very faithfully,

Wm. Crackenthorpe.

Mr. Blair adds:—"I think, if there be no record of this find in your *Transactions*, it would be well to print this letter. Mr. John Clayton died now many years ago, and his sister predeceased him by several years. There is no other clue to the date of the letter, as the envelope is gone.

The fine inscribed gold brooch of clasped hands, found in Cumberland (figured in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*), and an inscribed silver ring from Brampton Churchyard, are preserved here (at Chesters)."

The Rev. JOHN WHARTON, M.A., writes from Stainmore Vicarage, June 13th, 1902:—"A very old coin of the Emperor Commodus (Lucius Aurelius Antoninus, 183-193 A.D.) has just been found at Brough, Westmorland, in removing the steps of an ancient cross, not far from the church gates, in order to set up a maypole in honour of our King's Coronation. The coin is now in the possession of Mr. John Hutchinson, Church Brough."

"DURETOL."

The Rev. JAMES WILSON of Dalston writes (May 20th, 1902) on the subject of "Duretol" (see these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., p. 332):—

Dure is the ordinary vernacular for "door," as you will see in line 973 of *King Horn* of the Early English Text Society—a poem almost contemporaneous with the charter of Richard de Lucy given by Mr. Farrer—"Rymenhild undude the dure pin." Besides, the "door toll" continued to be a baronial obligation in Coupland till a recent period. For instance, in a verdict of 1577, the manor jury returned that "the tenants of Eskdale do pay yearly for dore tol, vizt for every tenement or householder door 2^{d} for which they are free in all the fairs and markets within the seigniory of Copland which amounteth to per annum 5^{s} 2^{d}."

The plea, on "thorough tole" through Richmondshire, quoted by Mr. Farrer, has to do with tenants *outside* the liberty of John, Earl of Richmond—a way leave, or rather toll for way leave. Grants of freedom from this toll were often made to religious houses in their passage and repassage to distant estates. But Lucy in "duretol" is dealing with his own tenants.

After reading the above note in print, Mr. Wilson further writes (February 13th, 1903) that the subject of "Duretol" is worthy of a formal paper in these *Transactions*, and as a small contribution thereto he offers a few additional references:—

In 1278 Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, was indicted that he had taken *de novo* "Thourtol" or "Thorutol" within his liberty

from the King's men—"Et de hoc, quod deberet cepisse thorutol infra libertatem suam de hominibus domini Regis." In answer to the charge the Earl pleaded that all his ancestors from time immemorial had taken such toll at their markets of Hirdbotel and Illesdone, and so did he, and nowhere else, saving that he took "transversum" from Scotsmen at Illeshawe, but not from Englishmen—"Et quoad teoloneum captum dicit quod omnes antecessores a tempore a quo non exstat memoria semper capere consueverunt ad mercata sua de Hirbotel et Illesden, et ita facit ipse et non alibi nisi tantum quod capit transversum de hominibus Scotiae apud Illeshawe et non de hominibus Angliæ" (*Assize Rolls of Northumberland*, p. 373, Surtees Society).

In 1351 (25 Edw. III.) it was found by verdict of jurors that the yearly ferm of the town of Oxford consisted of certain profits, one of which arose from toll on things brought to the town to be sold, from the custom called Thoruhtol, and from perquisites of courts—"Et in theolonio pro omnimodis rebus venalibus ad dictam villam venientibus, et de una custuma quae vocatur Thoruhtol, et perquisitionibus curiarum" (Madox, *Firma Burgi*, pp. 259-262).

Camden has noticed "a certaine custome called Thorough-toll" which the Earls of Richmond exacted in their Yorkshire liberties "in the ages aforegoing" (*Britannia*, p. 731, ed. Holland). Mr. Farrer has given an instance of this from the Plea Roll of 1283 (*Abbrev. Placit*, p. 205, Record Commission).

My friend, Mr. W. N. Thompson, of St. Bees, has obligingly sent me two cuttings from newspapers which may be considered of interest upon this subject. One is a letter to the *Liverpool Daily Post* of October 27th, 1902, by Mr. T. H. Baylis, K.C., the presiding judge of the Court of Passage, Liverpool. The learned judge argues that the Court of Passage obtained its name from having been originally a court for collecting, amongst other tolls, "passage tolls on all merchandises brought to or sold in the borough, or thither brought to be uttered and sold, by foreign men not resident or abiding in the borough nor being burgesses of the town of Liverpool." He also maintains that the privilege of *passagium* in royal grants of liberties, manorial and municipal, should be interpreted in this sense. The other extract, taken from the *West Cumberland Times* of October 11th, 1902, states that among the fines paid to the lord of the manor of Netherwasdale "there is a door-toll of twopence for each tenement, the reason for which, as in the case of so many fines, is not apparent. For this payment the tenants of Wasdale purchased their freedom from tolls in all the markets and fairs in the district known as Coupland. This redemption is of no use now, but the payment is trifling."

On the evidence as yet available, it seems to me that Mr. Farrer's interpretation holds the field, though I am bound to say that door-toll, as a tenemental service, has something to be said in its favour.

A Great Fire in Kendal in the Fourteenth Century.

Mr. R. J. Whitwell, C.C.C., Oxford, sends the following note:—

Among the thousands of petitions to the King in the Public Record Office, which form the class known as "Ancient Petitions," there are only two indexed as relating to Kendal.

One of these—a petition of the tenants of Kirkby-in-Kendal (No. 8494)—I will leave to the industry of some student who has a fair amount of time at his disposal, as it is much worn and defaced.

The other ("Ancient Petitions," E. 506) is copied below. Not one in a hundred of the petitions bears a date, and unless a fair number of names or facts are referred to, it is practically impossible to ascertain the year to which such a document belongs. In this case, we have only the handwriting to guide us, and this leads one to ascribe the petition to about the year 1360; it may very well be twenty years earlier, or twenty years later.

About the end of October then, near the middle of the fourteenth century, the town of Kirkby-in-Kendal, with the goods and chattels of the inhabitants, was burned, so that they were reduced to poverty and beggary. Spite of this, the tax-gatherer—then, as now, an unreasonable person, in the opinion of his victims—insisted on assessing the inhabitants on the old valuation of their personal property, "in nowise regarding the casualty that befell them a month after Michaelmas. Wherefore they pray, for God's sake, that they may be taxed on the goods and chattels which they have now in their possession."

But the King and his Council "saw no reason to interfere with the course of the law," as the phrase now runs; and the petition was endorsed "Let no action be taken," and put away on the appropriate file.

[copy.]

"A nostre seignur le Rey, e a sun conseil monstrent le pouers gentz de Kyrkeby in Kendale, come la dite ville, ensemblement oue lour biens et chateux fust ars, de quei il sount pouers et mendynauntz, venent les taxours et taxer les voillent solom les biens et chateux qil vrent a laseint Michel, nyent eyaunz regard de la cheaunce qe lour aueint vn moys apres lasent Michel. Dount il prient pur dieu, qe il poussent estre taxes solom les biens et chateus qe il ount ore entermeynes.

[*Indorsed.*] "Nichil fiat."

PISCINA AT KESWICK.

(TWO VIEWS.) TO FACE P. 419.

Shap Church.

Communicated by Mr. R. J. Whitwell, May 30th, 1902 :— Whatever may have become of the other estates of the abbey, we have proof positive that General Plantagenet Harrison was correct in his statement that Richard Washington was "seized of the rectory of Shapp." (See these *Transactions*, N.S., ii., pp. 128, 129).

In the eighteenth volume of the *Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.* is the entry (pt. i., p. 531, col. 2, No. 26) of the grant to "Ric. Wasshyngton, of Grarig, Westmorland, in fee, for £738 . 5 . 4½, of Shappe rectory, Westmorland, which belonged to the monastery of Shappe, with the advowson of the vicarage, *etc.* Dated, Westminster, 2 July, 35 Henry VIII [1543]. Delivered, Westminster, 7 July. By Privy Seal." (*Patent Roll*, pt. iv., m. 6.)

On the ninth of the same month, Washington had licence to alienate part of the property comprised in the grant, but not including the rectory or advowson. (*Calendar*, p. 532, No. 34.)

It may be well to complete the information on this point by noting the small fact that, in the account of the Treasurer of Augmentations presented 29 Sep., 1543 (*Ibid*, pt. ii., p. 120), the purchaser's name is mis-spelt "Wrashington."

Mr. R. D. Marshall of Castlerigg Manor, Keswick, sends (November 20th, 1902) photographs by Miss Marshall of an old piscina in a cottage garden at Keswick. It is possible that it may have come from Crosthwaite Church, but this is by no means certain, because such basins appear to have been in use for domestic purposes. Of the piscinas at Dacre Castle, the late Dr. M. W. Taylor says:—"Though similar in design to the piscina found in churches of that period, it is very problematical whether it was used for sacred purposes, as there is no chapel here; more likely it was a lavatory, for the convenience of guests in the hall." (These *Transactions*, i., p. 144.)

At Meadow-brow, Grasmere, is a quern, 13½ ins. in diameter and 7½ ins. high, in the shape of a rounded cone with a hollow in the top. It was dug up close to the door, on the east side of the house. Such querns were used at Grasmere within the nineteenth century. With it was found a stone disc, flat on one side and rounded on the other (the nether millstone?), now in the possession of Miss Mary Kerchever Arnold, the owner of the premises.

Publications of the Year.

The Lancashire Pipe Rolls of 31 Henry I., A.D. 1130, and of the Reigns of Henry II., A.D. 1155-1189; Richard I., A.D. 1189-1199; and King John, A.D. 1199-1216. The Latin text extended and notes added. Also early Lancashire charters of the period from the reign of William Rufus to that of King John. Transcribed and annotated by W. Farrer. With a map indicating the various tenures of the county in A.D. 1212. (Liverpool: Henry Young & Sons, 1902.) Pp. xviii. and 500.

A most important work, and indispensable for the study of the southern part of our district.

The Bewleys of Cumberland and their Irish and other descendants, with full pedigrees of the Family from 1332 to the Present Day. By Sir Edmund Thomas Bewley, M.A., LL.D. (Dublin: W. Magee.)

A full and scholarly account of a famous Cumberland family, by a distinguished descendant.

Some Extinct Cumberland Families and The Arms of the Sandys of Cumberland, articles in *The Ancestor* (third quarterly number, 1902; London: A. Constable & Co.), by the Rev. James Wilson, M.A., the first dealing with the Wigtons of Wigton and the Levingtons of the Border. Another instalment on the Tilliols of Scaleby in the fourth quarterly number, January, 1903.

Gillesland, an article on Gille, son of Boet, and Wescubrict, the last Scottish owners of Gillesland and Corby, by the Rev. James Wilson, M.A., appeared in *The Scottish Antiquary* for January, 1903.

A Rambler's Notebook at the English Lakes, by the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, Hon. Canon of Carlisle. (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1902.) Pp. 258, with illustrations.

The chapter on "Pre-historic Man at Portinscale" gives an account of the find of stone celts and the crucifix-mould described in this volume of our *Transactions*.

The Lake Counties (in the series of "County Guides," J. M. Dent & Co., 1902), together with articles on Natural History and Sport by various writers, contains eight chapters (198 pp.) and Gazetteer, by W. G. Collingwood, briefly noting the chief antiquities of our district. Maps and illustrations.

In Memoriam.

We have to record the death of Sir George Floyd Duckett, Bart., author of *Duchetiana* and other antiquarian works. He became a member of our Society in 1875, and contributed nine papers to these *Transactions*, Vols. II. to V. He died on May 13th, 1902, in his 92nd year.

Mr. Thomas Howson, an old member, died March, 1902, at his residence, Whitehaven.

Mr. Robert Ellis Cunliffe, of the Croft, Ambleside, died Nov. 25th, 1902. He was a comparatively new resident in the district and had been a member of our Society only since 1900, but was often seen at our meetings and well known for his collections relating to art, travel, and antiquities.

Miss Rose Mary le Fleming Senhouse, daughter of Sir Humphrey Senhouse, Kt., K.C.H., C.B., passed away at her residence, Galeholm, Gosforth, on Sunday, Jan. 11th, 1903, after a short illness. She was laid to rest beside her mother at Gosforth, on Thursday, Jan. 15th. She became a member of the Society in 1889, and contributed a paper to the twelfth volume of our *Transactions* on "Senhouse of Seascale Hall." The Rev. Rees Keene writes:—"Quick of eye, vigorous in mind, active in body, with a wonderful memory, she took a deep interest in all matters connected with Church and Empire, at home and abroad. By her death the Senhouse family ceases to be represented in a country parish where it has been known for parts of at least eight centuries."

Mr. Thomas Stordy, proprietor of the well-known business of Charles Thurnam & Sons, booksellers, etc., of Carlisle, died on February 13th, 1903, on his sixty-fourth birthday. He had been a member of our Society since 1887, and at one time published several of our extra volumes.

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1877 Blanc, Hippolyte J., F.S.A. (Scot.), 73 George Street, Edinburgh.
1899 Booker, R. P. L., F.S.A., Eton College, Windsor.
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1901 Brocklebank, Thomas, Irton Hall, Holmrook.
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1902 Brown, Thomas, Jun., 1 Lowther Street, Whitehaven.
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1896 Burns, David, 18 Scotland Road, Stanwix, Carlisle.
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1895 Butler, Wilson, B.A., Glebelands, Broughton-in-Furness.

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1892 Carlisle, The Lord Bishop of, *Patron*, Rose Castle, Carlisle.
1899 Carlisle Public Library (Tullie House).
1890 Carrick, Mrs., Oak Bank, Scotby, Carlisle.
1892 Carruthers, Richard, Eden Grove, Carlisle.
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1875 Cartmell, Rev. J. W., Christ's College, Cambridge.
1875 Cartmell, Studholme, 27 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
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1895 Cavendish, Hon. Victor, M.P., Holker Hall, Carnforth.
1892 Chadwick, S. J., F.S.A., Lyndhurst, Dewsbury.
1899 Chance, Mrs., Morton, Carlisle.
1899 Chance, F. W., Morton, Carlisle.
1874 Chapelhow, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Kirkandrews-on-Eden, Carlisle.
1901 Chorley Free Public Library, Chorley (E. Mc.Knight, Librarian).
1892 Clarke, A. B., Prospect House, Aspatria, Carlisle.
1893 Clarke, Rev. J. J., M.A., Selside Vicarage, Kendal.
1899 Clarke, W. H., M.D., Park Green, Macclesfield.
1899 Clark, John, Broughton-in-Furness.
1894 Collingwood, A. H., Town Clerk's Office, Carlisle.
1887 Collingwood, W. G., M.A., *Editor*, Lane Head, Coniston.
1883 Conder, Edward, F.S.A., Terry Bank, Old Town, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1882 Constable, W., Sefton Villa, Bridge, near Canterbury.
1884 Coward, John, Fountain Street, Ulverston.
1886 Cowper, H. S., F.S.A., *Member of Council*, High House, Hawkshead, Lancashire.
1888 Cowper, J. C., Keen Ground, Hawkshead.
1885 Creighton, Miss, Warwick Square, Carlisle.
1886 Crewdson, F. W., Summer How, Kendal.
1886 Crewdson, W. D., *Treasurer*, Helm Lodge, Kendal.

1887 Crewdson, Wilfrid H., Beathwaite, Levens, Kendal.
1897 Cropper, Arthur E., Normanhurst, Lord Street, West, Southport.
1901 Cropper, Charles J., Ellergreen, Kendal.
1896 Cropper, Rev. James, B.A., Broughton-in-Furness.
1874 Crowder, W. I. R., 14 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1899 Curwen, Eldred Vincent, Withdeane Court, Brighton.
1887 Curwen, John F., *Secretary*, Heversham.
1900 Curwen, A. D., Workington Hall, Workington.

1895 Dean, Charles Walter, Beech Bank, Ulverston.
1898 Dewick, Rev. F. C., Southey Hill, Keswick.
1898 Dickinson, William, 33 Queen Street, Whitehaven.
1902 Dickson, Mrs. A. B., Abbots Reading, Ulverston.
1886 Dixon, T., Rheda, Whitehaven.
1896 Dobinson, William, Bank Street, Carlisle.
1894 Donald, Miss H. M., Stanwix, Carlisle.
1901 Doyle, Hugh, 4 Smithfield, Egremont, Carnforth.
1900 Duckworth, T., B.A., 128 Petteril Street, Carlisle.
1883 Dykes, Mrs., The Red House, Keswick.
1894 Dymond, Charles William, F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A., Scot., The How, Hawkshead.

1885 Ecroyd, Edward, Low House, Armathwaite, R.S.O.

1901 Falcon-Steward, W. C., 72 Scarsdale Villas, Kensington.
1887 Farrer, William, Thornburgh House, Leyburn.
1887 Farish, Edward Garthwaite, 57½ Old Broad Street, London.
1895 Fawcett, John W., Broughton House, Broughton-in-Furness.
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1887 Fletcher, Miss, Stoneleigh, Workington.

1886 Fletcher, W. L., Stoneleigh, Workington.
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1884 Ford, John R., Quarry Dene, Weetwood, Leeds. 125
1884 Ford, John Walker, Enfield Old Park, Whichmore Hill, Middlesex.
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1890 Fothergill, John, Brownber, Ravenstonedale.

O.M. Gandy, J. G., *Auditor*, Heaves, Kendal.
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1889 Gatey, George, Gale Bank, Ambleside.
1895 Gaythorpe, Harper, F.S.A. Scot., Claverton, Prospect Road, Barrow-in-Furness.
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1877 Gibson, Miss M., Whelprigg, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1885 Gilbanks, Rev. W. F., M.A., Great Orton, Carlisle. 135
1877 Gillbanks, Mrs., Clifton, Penrith.
1877 Gillings, Mrs., Broughton-in-Furness.
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1893 Gough, Miss, Whitefield, Wigton, Carlisle.
1899 Graham, Dr. J., Castlegate House, Cockermouth. 140
1894 Graham, R. G., Beanlands Park, Carlisle.
1899 Graham, T. H. B., Edmond Castle, Carlisle.
1900 Grainger, Francis, Southerfield, Abbey Town, Carlisle.
1893 Green, Rev. R. S. G., M.A., Croglin Rectory, Kirkoswald.
1891 Greenop, Joseph, William Street, Workington. 145
1877 Greenwood, R. H., *Auditor*, Bankfield, Kendal.
1902 Greenwood, W., Croylands, Spring Grove, Isleworth.
1879 Grenside, Rev. W. Bent, M.A., Melling Vicarage, Carnforth.
1901 Greg, John Ronald, Hill Top, Kendal.
1901 Groves, W. G., Holehird, Windermere. 150
1893 Guildhall Library, London (Charles Welsh, Librarian).
1895 Gunson, John, Oak Bank, Ulpha, Broughton-in-Furness.

1893 Hair, M., 13 Abbey Street, Carlisle.
1878 Hargreaves, J. E., Beezon Lodge, Kendal.
1881 Harrison, James, Newby Bridge House, Ulverston. 155
1881 Harrison, Mrs., Newby Bridge House, Ulverston.
1878 Harrison, Rev. James, Barbon Vicarage, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1894 Harrison, Rev. D., M.A., Setmurthy, Cockermouth.
1890 Hartley, Mrs., Holm Garth, Morecambe.
1901 Hartley, Rev. T. P., M.A., Colton Vicarage, Ulverston. 160

1879 Harvey, Miss, Wordsworth Street, Penrith.
1873 Harvey, Rev. Prebendary, F.S.A., Navenby Rectory, Lincoln.
1893 Haswell, John Francis, M.D., C.M., *Member of Council*, Penrith.
1890 Haverfield, F., M.A., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A. Scot., *Vice-President*, Christ Church, Oxford.
1895 Hawcridge, Arthur, 19 Ainslie Street, Barrow-in-Furness.
1886 Hawkesbury, Lord, Kirkham Abbey, York.
1881 Hayton, Joseph, Cockermouth.
1898 Heelis, Rev. A. J., M.A., Brougham Rectory, Penrith.
1879 Helder, A., M.P., Whitehaven.
1892 Hellon, Robert, Seascale, Carnforth.
1884 Henderson, The Very Rev. W. G., D.D., *Vice-President*, The Deanery, Carlisle.
1881 Hetherington, J. Newby, F.R.G.S., 16 Lansdowne Crescent, Kensington, W.
1890 Hewitson, William, Appleby.
1898 Heygate, Mrs. R., Oaklands, Leominster.
1885 Hibbert, Percy J., Plumtree Hall, Milnthorpe.
1889 Higginson, H., Bank Street, Carlisle.
1899 Highet, John, M.D., Brow Top, Workington.
1900 Hill, Rev. A. F. Still, M.A., Dufton Rectory, Appleby.
1897 Hills, Judge, High Head Castle, Carlisle.
1889 Hinds, James P., 20 Fisher Street, Carlisle.
1889 Hinds, Miss, 20 Fisher Street, Carlisle.
1880 Hine, Wilfrid, Camp Hill, Maryport.
1899 Hobson, William Harrison, Maryport.
1884 Hodgkin, Thomas, D.C.L., F.S.A., Bamborough Keep, Belford.
1883 Hodgson, Isaac B., Brampton.
1885 Hodgson, James, Britain Place, Ulverston.
1883 Hodgson, T. H., F.S.A., *Chairman of Council*, Newby Grange, Carlisle.
1895 Hodgson, Mrs., Newby Grange, Carlisle.
1887 Hodgson, Rev. W. G. C., M.A., Distington Rectory, Whitehaven.
1898 Holme, Mrs., Mardale, Haweswater, Penrith.
1901 Holmes, W. A., M.D., 50 Hartington Street, Barrow.
1895 Holt, Miss E. G., Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
1898 Hopper, Rev. W. R., Kirkbride Rectory, Carlisle.
1884 Horrocks, T., Eden Brow, Armathwaite, R.S.O.

1882 Hothfield, Lord, *Patron*, Appleby Castle.
1898 Hough, Keighley J., 4 Wilfrid Street, Carlisle.
1894 Huddart, A., The Orchards, Eskdale, Carnforth.
1895 Hudleston, Ferdinand, 57 Inverness Terrace, London.
1888 Hudson, Rev. Canon, Crosby House, Carlisle.
1902 Hudson, Rev. Canon, Thornton Vicarage, Horncastle.
1898 Husband, Rev. C. F., Kirkby Ireleth, Carnforth.
1900 Hulbert, Rev. C. L., M.A., Brathay, Ambleside.
1899 Hutchinson, Alf. T., 32 Wellington Street, Millom.
1898 Hutton, Rev. F. R. C., M.A., St. Paul's Rectory, Brunswick Street, Manchester.

1892 Ingham, Rev. J., M.A., Asby Rectory, Appleby.
1881 Iredale, Thomas, Workington.
1884 Irwin, Colonel T. A., Lynehow, Carlisle.

1896 Jackson, Edwin, The Bank, Cockermouth.
1899 Jackson, Samuel Hart, Heaning Wood, Ulverston.
1877 Jackson, Mrs. W., 3 Conyers Avenue, Birkdale, Southport.
1898 James, Percy, Portland Square, Carlisle.

1897 Keene, Rev. Rees, M.A., The Rectory, Gosforth.
1885 Kendal Literary and Scientific Institution.
1896 Kendall, John, L.R.C.P., etc., Oaklands, Coniston.
1889 Kennedy, Myles, Hill Foot, Ulverston.
1894 Kerry, W. H. R., F.C.S., The Sycamores, Windermere.
1897 Kewley, Rev. W., Natland, Kendal.
1901 Kitchin, The Very Rev. G. W., D.D., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, The Deanery, Durham.

1897 Lamonby, W. F., Ballarat, Kitto Road, Hatcham, S.E.
1897 Lane, William B. H., Walker Ground, Hawkshead.
1894 Langhorne, John, Watson Villa, Dean, Edinburgh.
1889 Lawson, Lady, Brayton Hall, Carlisle.
1882 Lazonby, J., 42 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.
1901 Leeds Library (D. A. Cruse, Librarian).
1901 Leonard, Rev. J., M.A., South Road, Kirkby Stephen.
1897 Leconfield, Lord, Petworth, Sussex.
1896 Lediard, H. A., M.D., Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1892 Leach, R. E., M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S., Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
1900 Lee, Arthur, Brampton.
1889 Le Fleming, Stanley Hughes, Rydal Hall, Ambleside.
1895 Lehmann ú Stage, Copenhagen.
1887 Lester, Thomas, Firbank, Penrith.

1901 Lidbetter, Robert M., Devonshire House, Chatsworth Square, Carlisle.
1892 Little, James, M.D., Maryport.
1892 Little, William, Chapel Ridding, Windermere.
1901 Littlewood, J. H., Lynngarth, Kendal.
1883 Liverpool Free Public Library, per P. Cowell.
1875 Loftie, Rev. A. G., B.A., Great Salkeld, Penrith.
1902 Long, William, Cleabarrow, Windermere.
1883 Lonsdale, Horace B., 18 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1882 Lonsdale, Rev. Canon, M.A., Upperby Vicarage, Carlisle.
1875 Lonsdale, The Earl of, Lowther Castle, Penrith.
1889 Lowther, the Right Hon. J. W., M.P., 16 Wilton Crescent, London.
1874 Lowther, Hon. W., *Vice-President*, Lowther Lodge, Kensington Gore, London.
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1880 Maddison, Rev. A. R., F.S.A., Vicar's Court, Lincoln.
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1894 Marshall, John, Derwent Island, Keswick.
1890 Marshall, Reginald Dykes, *Vice-President*, Castlerigg Manor, Keswick.
1894 Marshall, Stephen A., Skelwith Fold, Ambleside.
1902 Marston, Miss K., College Road, Windermere.
1893 Martindale, J. H., Moor Yeat, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1889 Mason, W. J., Bolton Place, Carlisle.
1888 Mason, Mrs., Redmaine House, Kirkby Stephen.
1894 Mason, J., M.D., Windermere.
1902 Matthews, Dr. T. G., Scotch Street, Whitehaven.
1889 Mawson, John Sanderson, The Larches, Keswick.
1902 Metcalfe-Gibson, Mrs. A., Park House, Ravenstonedale.
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1889 Metcalfe, T. K., Oak Bank, Whitehaven.
1890 Metcalfe, Rev. R. W., M.A., Ravenstonedale.
1883 Micklethwaite, J. T., F.S.A., 15 Dean's Yard, Westminster.
1897 Millard, Rev. F. L. H., M.A., *Member of Council*, Aspatria, Carlisle.

1878 Miller, Miss Sarah, Undermount, Rydal, Ambleside.
1901 Moffatt, Charles E., M.D., Glave Hill, Dalston.
1889 Monkhouse, John, Hawthorn Villa, Kendal.
1902 Monnington, Rev. Canon, Penrith.
1902 Monnington, Mrs., Penrith.
1900 Moore, R. W., Fernacre, Whitehaven.
1894 Morpeth, Lord, 4 Devonshire Place, London, W.
1902 Morton, James, Grey Fell, Penrith.
1902 Morton, Mrs., Grey Fell, Penrith.
1874 Muncaster, Lord, *Patron*, Muncaster Castle, Ravenglass.
1902 Muncaster, Miss A. D., Corkickle, Whitehaven.
1902 Myers, C. J., Dunning Well, Millom.

1899 Nanson, Ernest Lonsdale, 4 Springfield Villa, Hensingham, Whitehaven.
1874 Nanson, William, F.S.A., Singapore (care of W. B. James, Esq., 23 Ely Place, London, E.C.)
1897 New York Public Library, Astor Library Building, New York.
1893 Nicholson, Mrs. Lothian, 4 Sloane Court, London.
1898 Nicholson, Miss Margaret, Carlton House, Clifton, Penrith.
1889 Noble, Miss, Beckfoot, Bampton, Penrith.
1890 Noble, Miss Elizabeth, Beckfoot, Penrith.
1902 Newman, F. W., Ph.D., Tullie House, Carlisle.

1899 Oldham Free Library.

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1899 Parker, Edward J., 18 Aglionby Street, Carlisle.
1898 Parker, F. H. M., B.A., Fremington Hall, Penrith, and 19 St. Andrew's Mansions, Dorset Street, London, W.
1882 Parkin, John S., 11 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London.
1895 Patrickson, George, Scales, Ulverston.
1885 Pearson, A. G. B., Lune Cottage, Kirkby Lonsdale.
O.M. Pearson, F. Fenwick, Storrs Hall, Arkholme, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1901 Pearson, H. G., Spennithorne, Barrow-in-Furness.
1900 Pease, Howard, Arcot Hall, Dudley, R.S.O., Northumberland.
1883 Peile, John, Litt. D., Master of Christ's College, Cambridge.
1894 Pelham, H. F., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, President of Trinity College, Oxford.
1900 Penfold, Henry, The Nook, Brampton.
1902 Penfold, John B., 1 Lorne Terrace, Brampton.

1896 Penrith Free Library (J. B. Shawyer, Penrith.)
1895 Perowne, Edward S. M., 13 Warwick Crescent, Paddington, W.
1896 Petty, S. Lister, Queen Street, Ulverston.
1887 Philadelphia Library Company, Philadelphia, U.S.A.
1895 Phillips, Rev. Canon, The Abbey, Carlisle.
1895 Podmore, G., M.A., Charney Hall, Grange-over-Sands.
1900 Pollitt, H. B., Thorney Hills, Kendal.
1896 Postlethwaite, George D., Yewhurst, Bickley, Kent.
1875 Prescott, Ven. Archdeacon and Chancellor, *Vice-President*, The Abbey, Carlisle.

1899 Quirk, Miss Emily G., Highcote, Workington.

1897 Radcliffe, H. Miles, Summerlands, Kendal.
1902 Ragg, Rev. Frederick W., Masworth Vicarage, *via* Tring.
1895 Ramsden, F. J., M.A., Abbotswood, Barrow-in-Furness.
1883 Rawnsley, Rev. Canon, Crosthwaite, Keswick.
1888 Rayner, John A. E., 3 Gambier Terrace, Liverpool.
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1901 Rea, Mrs., Gatehouse, Eskdale, Carnforth.
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ERRATA IN "BISHOP NICOLSON'S DIARIES."

Page 9.—*Footnote.*

Last two lines. Omit the words, "The Governour was Jeremiah Bubb, who was probably not resident in Carlisle."

Page 22.—*Footnote.*

Omit the words, "Robert Lowther, M.P. for Westmorland 1704 (on death of Sir C. Musgrave), 1705, and 1707. He died shortly afterwards"; and substitute the following words:—"Robert, son of Richard Lowther of Meaburn. He was Governour of Barbadoes, 1716. His son James ultimately succeeded to the Lowther estates, and became the first Earl of Lonsdale."

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Second column, line 12, *for* Lord Troghere *read* L. Troghere.

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Bank Interest	0	18	5
	£293	0	11

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	£	s.	d.
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Examined and found correct, Sept., 1902.

JAMES GANDY.
R. H. GREENWOOD.

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